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THE AO NAGAS

BY

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INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

WITH A FOREWORD BY

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AND

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY BY

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KÛTOMBA KÛTUNG TELU TENINGKO
NINA SITI IBATSÛ
ZILUOGO

PREFACE

THE head quarters of Mokokchung Subdivision being situated in the Ao country and close to some of the most important villages of the tribe, I had every opportunity of observing their customs while holding charge of the Subdivision from the autumn of 1917 to the New Year of 1924, save for one year's leave. But for all my opportunities this book could never have been written without the assistance and co operation of my numerous Ao friends. Especially are my thanks due to Lentinoktang, Lanukamzak, Likokyingba, Yimtitamzak and Sanchamkhaba, all interpreters on the Subdivisional officer's staff, and to Tsansao Lhota, who typed out the very long manuscript for me.

No less deeply am I indebted to many English friends. Dr J H Hutton, C I E, Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills and Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam, has not only given me encouragement and assistance throughout, but has allowed me to use some of his photographs, has kindly made for me finished sketches of tattoo patterns from rough outlines I gave him, and has immeasurably increased the value of the book by his full comparative notes and his bibliography. Mr Henry Balfour, F R S, Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, with whom I had the pleasure of doing a long tour in the Naga Hills, has been kind enough to write a valuable introduction and to allow me to use some of his excellent drawings. Colonel J Shakespear has bestowed ungrudging patience on the laborious task of compiling a very full index. Mr Meiklejohn, of the Indian Forest Service, has been good enough to allow me to use some of his photographs, and Mr Dennehy, of the Indian Civil Service one of his photo

graphs and one of his Chongli Ao folk tales. Last, but far from least, the Government of Assam has generously defrayed the cost of publication.

I have attempted, both under various headings in the body of the book and in an appendix devoted to the subject, to estimate the social effects on the Aos of the work of the American Baptist Missionary Society. I have not hesitated frankly to point out what seem to me to be errors of method and I trust members of the Society will receive my criticisms in the friendly spirit in which they are meant. Dr W C Smith's valuable book, *The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam* written from a rather different standpoint, was published while my book was in the press, too late, unfortunately, for me to make any use of it or to comment on the few points wherein I differ from the author.

J P MILLS

FOREWORD

It was my privilege in 1921 to write an introductory "foreword" to Mr. J. H. Hutton's important monograph upon *The Sema Nagas*, and I feel highly complimented in being again invited, this time by Mr. Mills, to contribute a "foreword" to his equally valuable work upon *The Ao Nagas*. The pleasure which I now experience in acting as godfather to a new monograph dealing with a Naga tribe has been greatly enhanced by the fact that in 1922, at the instigation of the two friends above-mentioned, I spent some three months in making an ethnological tour of several hundred miles through the Naga Hills, as their guest and under their guidance, with all the advantages that accrue from travelling with men who have taken infinite pains to study intensively the natives whose affairs they, as Government officials, have been called upon to administer. This golden opportunity for first-hand ethnological observation naturally stimulated acutely the interest in the Naga tribe which I had long felt.

Although an excellent general understanding of these comparatively untouched Naga tribes can readily be arrived at by careful perusal of the admirable monographs which have been published in the last few years, the mental picture can never be complete until one has resided among the natives and surveyed them in their own environment. This develops a sense of proportion and perspective, and one can the better realize the interrelationships, the culture interactions, and the adaptations to environment that have brought about the complex which is described as the general culture of the Naga Hills. For, although the Nagas as a whole exhibit a general similarity of culture and possess many ideas, habits, and occupations in common, there are very many individual tribal traits which differentiate the

culture of one group from that of another. Variations in physical type, in language, and in customs afford material for classification and segregation into more or less well defined ethnic divisions, and, in spite of evidence pointing to a common ancestry, it is manifest that various influences have affected the development of the Nagas, both physically and culturally, and have contributed to a complex which calls for scientific analysis.

As material for this analysis by comparative study, the monographs upon individual tribes already available, thanks to the far seeing and enlightened policy of the Government of Assam, are of the greatest value. The Angami, Sema, Lhota, and Ao Nagas have now been dealt with intensively by Dr Hutton and Mr Mills, and these four tribes can now be compared and contrasted upon evidence which has been very carefully and laboriously collected. These monographs will have a permanent value as a record of one of the most interesting surviving groups of primitive natives.

The culture of the Naga Hills stands clearly defined from that of most of the neighbouring areas, and yet marked affinities may be traced with cultures outside the region and even very far afield. In order to arrive at a satisfactory diagnosis of Naga ethnography, it is necessary to trace and to evaluate the links through which may be discerned connections and affinities with other ethnic units, however distant they may be. Many striking links have already been established, serving to trace relationship between the culture phenomena of the Naga Hills *massif* and, for example, Chota Nagpur, China, Burma, the Indian Archipelago, the Philippines, and even far distant Melanesia. Dr Hutton's footnotes in the present volume are of much interest in this connection.

It is not only the more important and prominent items which should be subjected to comparative study. Every detail, however insignificant it may seem, is of importance in this diagnostic research. Even so prosaic and seemingly trivial an object as a native scarecrow may help to throw light upon the wider problems of migration and diffusion. I have myself seen examples of somewhat complex bird

while their culture remains relatively uncontaminated by contact with alien peoples, and has not yet undergone that inevitable metamorphosis which results from the advent of missionaries, traders, and other disintegrating forces. As one travels through the Naga Hills one can but notice the evidence of a gradual passing away of the old order of things in the administered area, the breaking down of old associations of ideas, in spite of the innate conservatism which is antagonistic to change and yields reluctantly. Ornaments which formerly were worn exclusively as insignia of conspicuous prowess and achievement tend to become, under the altered conditions induced by the *pax britannica* and Government control, mere meaningless embellishments of those who have achieved little, or of the merely rich. The decay of old customs too often involves for the natives loss of pride and interest in themselves and their past traditions, virility gives way to listlessness and apathy, a state which is now recognized as one of the potent factors in promoting depopulation. The arbitrary suppression of all traditional customs, ceremonies, and dances—including even those which in themselves are harmless enough—on the plea that they belong to the “bad old days of heathendom and head hunting,” is a shortsighted and retrograde policy. It strikes at the roots of practically the whole social structure of the people, and its effects are apt to prove disastrous. Metamorphosis by successive very slight modifications of existing habits and practices may lead to the desired result—that of evolving law abiding and useful citizens from the sometime head hunting savages—without loss of that alertness and efficiency which, under the “bad old” conditions, proved essential to survival, and the loss of which is so detrimental to any real and permanent betterment. I must not be tempted to enlarge upon this theme. I have elsewhere¹ stated my views upon the subject of the possible means of uplifting the primitive or “unrisen” peoples. My main point is that the Nagas, with their fine physique, intelligence, and considerable potentialities, are worth preserving and

¹ *Folk-lore*, vol. xxxiv, 1923 (Presidential Address to the Folk-lore Society)

are capable of improvement if a process of gradual successive changes be adopted, and if they are allowed to absorb the ideas of higher culture in small doses whose effects may be cumulative.

Of the Ao-Nagas, who are so fully and interestingly portrayed by Mr. Mills, I have many very pleasant recollections. Reserved they may be in the presence of strangers, but I was often welcomed by them and hospitably entertained. Hospitality, it is true, has its drawbacks sometimes, and the filthy receptacles in which *madhu* (rice-beer) is served rather checks one's enthusiasm for the potable contents. Similarly, the proffer of that arch-delicacy of the Nagas, parboiled hornet grubs, 1½ inches long—so greatly appreciated by them and, therefore, a generous gift—invokes a feeling of repugnance not easily overcome, especially if one has recently seen the palpitating, peristaltic maggots alive in the comb. To refuse them might hurt the natives' feelings, and one just swallows the grubs and one's pride (or prejudice) simultaneously, feeling that one has at least played the game by Naga altruism.

The Aos practise various arts and industries with success. They are skilful carvers, and the zoomorphic designs carved in complete or high relief which adorn especially the *morungs*, are of great interest from the points of view of technique, of symbolism and of variation upon adopted themes. The paramount glory of the Ao country is to be seen in the huge hollow-log gongs, or xylophones,¹ serving as broadcasting instruments, which sometimes are as much as 40 feet in length and 5 feet in diameter. These are carved at one end with a huge "figure-head" representing the head of the Water-buffalo, though, owing to the conventional rendering of the theme, the Aos themselves mostly fail to recognize the real *motiv*. These instruments are truly

¹ I steadfastly refuse to follow my friends, Hutton and Mills, in describing these as "drums." The use of the term "drum" to percussion instruments other than those sounded through the medium of a tense membrane has caused infinite confusion. Since the drum proper also occurs in the Naga Hills, it is eminently desirable to differentiate it from the xylophone, whose evolution has been from a totally different origin, and whose principle of sound emission belongs to a totally distinct category.

impressive objects and represent immense labour expended both in their hewing out and in their transport up to the hill top villages from the spots where the huge trees were felled. The dances and ceremonial ritual of these people are vastly intriguing to the ethnologist and lack nothing in the picturesqueness of their barbaric splendour.

It is curious, perhaps, that the Ao Nagas about whom comparatively little had previously been written, should have formed in the last two years the subject of three distinct works by as many authors. Mr W. Carlson Smith, an American missionary, published, in 1925, a substantial volume upon this tribe, and in the same year a small book was issued by Surendra Nath Majumder, of the Assam Medical Service, dealing with the same people. The present work by Mr Mills in no way suffers from the fact of the Aos having already been described by other writers. In each instance the point of view is different, and it is, indeed, a matter of interest to compare the impressions of these Nagas arrived at independently by an American missionary, a Hindu medical officer, and an English resident official of the Assam Government.

Ethnologists, in particular, will be grateful to Mr Mills for his careful and exhaustive study on one of the important and well defined tribes in the Naga Hills. The volume well maintains the high standard of excellence set by Dr Hutton in his two monographs. Great credit is due to the Government of Assam for the encouragement given to its officials to study intensively the natives who are under administrative control. The growing series of tribal monographs issued under Government auspices will be standard works of reference, valuable not only as a record of the indigenous native customs, beliefs, and ideals, but also as a means of understanding and of evaluating the status and potentialities of these "unrisen" peoples, a prime factor in promoting and facilitating an enlightened, sympathetic, and just administration.

HENRY BALFOUR

Oxford
August, 1926

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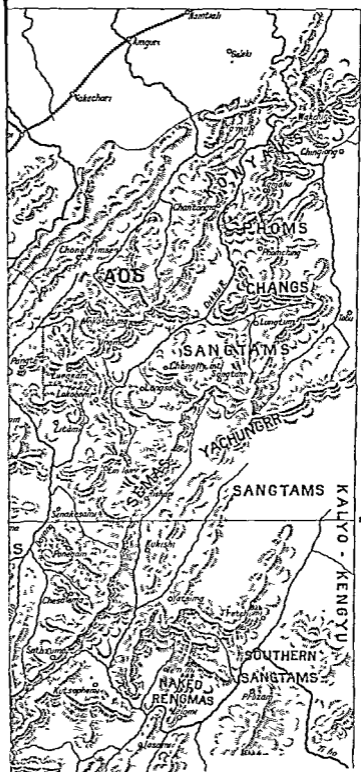
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THE AO, NAGAS

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

IN this volume an attempt is made to describe a people which presents several characteristics not found in any of the Naga¹ tribes dealt with in the monographs hitherto published by the Government of Assam. The Ao custom of disposing of their dead by laying them out on platforms; their elaborately organized village councils; their claim to have emerged from the earth not at the Kezakenoma Stone,² but near Chongliyimti on the right bank of the Dikhu; their huge xylophones laboriously hewn out from single logs; their tattooed women-folk; their division into language groups so stable that a husband and his wife will at times converse together each in his or her own language; and their complicated clan and phratry rights, all distinguish them sharply from their Sema and Lhota neighbours. The name Ao is a current mispronunciation of *Aor*, their own word for themselves, meaning, according to their own statements, "those who came" (i.e. across the Dikhu), as distinct from *Mirir* ("those who did not come"), the term used for Sangtams, Changs, Phoms and Konyaks.³ Under the term

¹ In view of the fact that Ptolemy in the third or fourth century A.D. and Shwabuddin Talish in the sixteenth both speak of Nagas as "*Nanga*," *quod* "naked," I must recant my derivation of "Naga" from the Sanskrit *Nāg* (vide Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. xvi n.¹) and substitute the Sanskrit *nāgna*—but reluctantly, for the Assamese call them *Nāga*, and both Shwabuddin and Ptolemy's informers may have known only Urdu and jumped at conclusions.—J H H.

² This is usually regarded as the place of division, not emergence, which is put at Maikel or elsewhere.—J H H.

³ Personally I doubt this explanation of the terms *Aor* and *Mirir*, and regard *Aor* as simply "those who are" (*A* demonstrative and *ER* or

Ao I shall include only those who speak the Chongli, Mongsen, Changli, and Sangpur dialects. The last used to be spoken in the Sangpur "khel"¹ of Longsa, but is now practically obsolete and may be disregarded. I met one old man who was reputed to know it, but he could only mumble a few words, and the whole "khel" now speaks Chongli, though the inhabitants still carve their sacrificial mithan posts in a way peculiar to themselves, and retain their own pattern of tattoo. Besides these there are others who have some claim to be regarded as Aos, but I have not attempted to describe them. Yacham and their small neighbour Yong, for instance, speak a dialect resembling Chongli, but follow Phom or Konyak customs to a great extent. Yacham recently told me that they really did not know what they were—Aos would not recognize them as Aos and their trans Dikhu neighbours would not accept them as kinsmen. Then there are villages such as Longla and Noksan which have long been under Chang chiefs and have adopted Chang dress and custom, though an Ao dialect is current in them together with Chang. As these villages appear to have lost their characteristic Ao customs, and are situated in unadministered territory where I have been unable to visit and study them, I have made no attempt to deal with them.

I have spoken of the Chongli, Mongsen and Changli "language groups" for want of a better term. They undoubtedly represent different waves of immigrants speaking different dialects. But time has complicated matters. Each group has its own set of clans, but the language divisions, though showing wonderful stability considering the conditions under which they are maintained, have begun to break down in places. Examples will make the point clear.

PR an obsolete form of the verb 'to be' vide Clark *Ao Naga Dictionary*, s.v. *A* (b) and *Pr*. *Mime* then would be 'those who are not' and the distinction would be equivalent to that of the Changs—between *Māmes*, "real men," and *Houng*, who are not men at all, or to that of any of the many tribes who call themselves "men" and their neighbours something else. The more arrogant the distinction between themselves and their neighbours the more would it be in keeping with Ao psychology. Cf S C Roy, *The Miao*, p. 258.—J H H

¹ "khel," a division of a village. See p. 82.—J P M

Mongsenyimti and Chungtia for instance contain none but Chongli and Mongsen clans respectively, speaking their own dialect and following their own customs. Of the two "khels" of Sangratsu one consists of Mongsen clans speaking the Mongsen dialect, and the other of Chongli clans speaking the Chongli dialect—the two not twenty yards apart. Each "khel" knows the other's language but speaks its own, and a Mongsen woman married to a man of the Chongli "khel" will speak Mongsen to her husband but Chongli to her baby, for the child is Chongli like his father and must be brought up to speak Chongli. But in Mokongtsu¹ village, while there is a Chongli "khel" and a Mongsen "khel," the whole village speaks Mongsen. It must be very inconvenient to speak two languages in the same village, and the tendency to adopt a common tongue is a natural one. A tale from Longmisa shows the misunderstanding which may arise. Tradition relates that a Chongli and a Mongsen man had a quarrel about the ownership of a clump of bamboos of the kind called in Mongsen *changpurong*. The Mongsen man kept shouting about these bamboos (all Nagas talk at the top of their voices when they are quarrelling, and often when they are not), and the Chongli man, mishearing him, thought he was shouting *changpong*, the Chongli word for a frog. Feeling himself insulted he took a fine of a pig, and from that day the Mongsen men gave up their language as too liable to lead to expensive misunderstandings. The whole village therefore now speaks Chongli.

It is clear then that a man of Chongli descent may often speak Mongsen as his ordinary language, or vice versa. When I speak therefore of Chongli or Mongsen words I am referring solely to language without any reference to the race of the speaker, and when I speak of Chongli custom I am describing the habits of people who are Chongli by race, even though they may speak Mongsen, and similarly with Mongsen custom. But as far as possible examples of custom and

¹ This village has given its name corrupted into Mokokchung to the Civil Station and the administrative subdivision of the Naga Hills District. I have throughout used the current corruption when speaking of the station and the real name when referring to the village.—J. P. M.

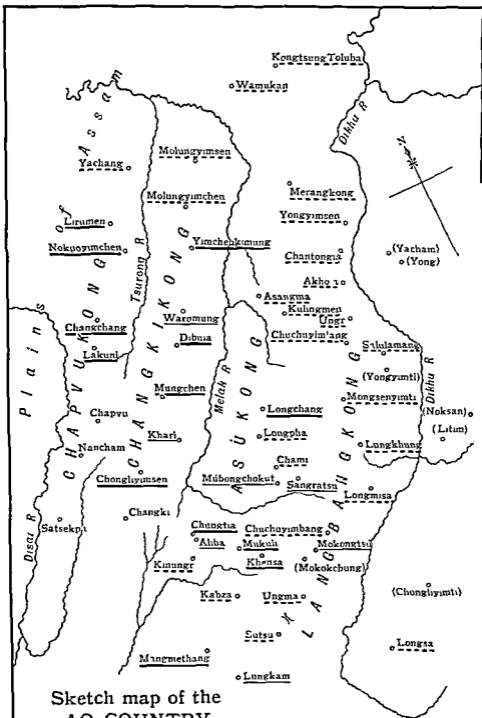
ceremonial have been taken from villages or "khels" where there is no confusion

Situation.

The Aos, who numbered 30,599 at the census of 1921, occupy a portion of the Naga Hills bounded by the Dikhu River on the south-east, the edge of the plains on the north-west, the Konyaks on the north east, and the Semas and Lhotas on the south-west¹ In former days they occupied a big slice of what is now Sema territory, and extended at least to the Wokha-Bhandari bridle path in the present Lhota country. But the tribe is an old one and past the zenith of its power, and the Semas were pressing them hard when we annexed the country in 1889. Their country is a pleasant one of long unbroken ranges, sloping gently down to moderate streams. The land, of which there is ample for all, is fertile, and the huge belt of forest lying between the foot of the hills and the cultivated portion of the plains must have always discouraged the casual Assamese immigrant,² who might bluff no small gain out of the unwarlike villages of the outer range, but could not bluff a tiger which might be waiting for him on the way. The Aos themselves divide their country into four ranges, assigning each village to the range on or near which it is. These ranges run in roughly parallel lines, and are named as follows: the Lang bangkong ("bed range") so called from a fancied resemblance to a bed, running along the left bank of the Dikhu parallel to it to the north-west the Asukong ("river range") a low, irregular range flanked by small rivers; again parallel to the north-west the Changkikong, called after Changk village which stands on it; and finally the Chapvukong called after Chapvu village. This is a low range flanking

¹ Longsa alone lies outside this area, being on the right bank of the Dikhu —J. P. M.

² This forest along the foot of the hills is generally regarded as of comparatively recent growth, and communication between the plains and the Naga Hills was probably much greater at an earlier period of history before the Ahom invasion of Assam, than of recent years. At the same time the Aos have probably received more admixture of actual Assamese blood than most Naga tribes, and during the Burmese invasion many Assamese took refuge in the Ao country —J. H. H.



Sketch map of the
AO COUNTRY

Chongli villages underlined thus

Mongsen " " " "

Villages containing separate Mongsen

and Chongli khels underlined thus

Villages of Chanaki group not underlined

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the plains It is amusing to note the way in which the Ao assigns degrees of "smartness" to each range, exactly as we distinguish Mayfair from Upper Tooting The order is that in which I have given the ranges An Ao of the Langbangkong is inclined to look down on an inhabitant of the Asukong and still more on men from the two outer ranges, a villager of the Chapvukong, in his turn, regarding the plainsman with contempt—not unmixed with fear of his exceeding cunning But among the Aos these opinions are not often expressed It is cheaper to keep your thoughts to yourself in a land where a fine of a pig is demanded for any remark which could by the utmost stretch of the imagination be regarded as defamatory Nor does anyone ever move in order to get a "better address" It is very rarely that an Ao does not stick to the village where his ancestors lived before him An immigrant finds he has little status in his new home Indeed to call a man a new comer is a recognized form of insult, involving the inevitable pig as damages There are doubtless as good men in Balham as there are in Belgravia, but there must be few men on the Chapvukong as good as the average inhabitant of the Langbangkong and the Ao distinctions between the ranges are no doubt largely justified The villages on the inner range were continually at war with their trans Dikhu neighbours This and the greater height of many of them, has tended to keep them virile and healthy Wars were plentiful enough in the old days throughout the Ao country, but nowhere was the pressure so great as on the Dikhu frontier The nearer the plains the greater the heat, the less the raiding and the less virile the people For as far back as they can remember the Aos have been friendly with the rulers of Assam, and the plains have never been used as a happy hunting ground for head seekers¹

¹ But in the earlier days of the tea industry raids on tea gardens at the foot of the hills were by no means unknown and Amguri Tea Estate just below the northern end of the Chapvukong had to maintain an armed guard which patrolled at night as a result of the raiders who used to slip into the coolie lines for leads—J H H

Origin and Migrations

Ao tradition states quite definitely that the ancestors of the tribe came out of the earth at Lungterok¹ ("six stones"), sometimes called Ungterok, lying on the top of a spur on the right bank of the Dikhu just about opposite Mokongtsu. The stones, which I have not seen, as they are across the frontier, are just above the present Sangtam village of Chongliymti.² One is pointed out as the source of the Pongen and Lungkam phratrics, and another as that of the Cham.

¹ The Phoms also claim to have emerged from the earth at Lungterok, but do not reckon themselves as Aos. They first settled with Sangtams somewhere in the present Northern Sangtam country, each tribe forming one khel of a common village. One day the Sangtams proposed a mock fight, each side to use bamboo spears, and plantain leaves instead of shields. The Phoms agreed and being simple honest souls (they have changed since), observed the conditions, while the Sangtams covered real shields with plantain leaves. The natural result was that the Phoms had many casualties and the Sangtams none. Disliking such treacherous people as neighbours the Phoms migrated to their present country.

The Semas tell an exactly similar story of a fight between two of their clans early in their migration.—J. P. M.

² Dr J. H. Hutton visited the stones in November 1923. He describes them as follows in his Tour Diary.

"November 6th

"We went up to Chongliymti, three miles off at the top of the hill, a small village of some thirty or forty houses, and paid a visit to Lungterok, the famous six stones from which all the Aos derive their origin, as well as the Phoms and, I think, the Sangtams hereabouts. Only three of the six are standing, and the biggest (the 'female' stone, as it was pointed out to me) was knocked down by a Christian evangelist who destroyed a small phallus which stood in front of it, and was later visited, I am glad to say, by a series of well deserved misfortunes. Two of the still standing stones were described to me as 'male' stones. The sixth was hard to find and we were told that one of them appeared and disappeared at its own caprice (cf. Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, II, 27 sq., the Kacharis at Dimapur, too, believe in a group of carved megaliths which reveal themselves to the very pious only), but we eventually found it leaning up against a *figus* of some sort. There was also a very small erect stone east of the path. All are in a patch of heavy jungle which may not be cut at all, and the stones may not be touched, as to do so would cause storms of wind and rain or hail. The 'female' stone has a natural fissure in its surface with a deep hollow behind.

"In some traditions the Cham phratry do not spring from this 'female' stone like the Pongen and Lungkam, but come from one of the two 'male' stones, which possibly reflects a real distinction in culture between the phratrics: one of them, possibly, having had a matrilineal system, distinct from the patrilineal one of another stock. The Wozukamr clan are fined if they claim origin from the stones at all, as they are descended from an old woman who was weaving when a hornbill's tail feather fell on her from a bird flying over, but this took place close to the 'morung' in old Chongliymti, the site of which is still shown. Thus old village adjoined Lungterok, but what remained of it moved to its present site higher up about a generation ago. The old house sites are clearly identifiable in the jungle near Lungterok"—J. P. M.

put straight into his mouth, and twenty nine young bucks followed his example ¹ So these thirty men raided Kubok and defeated it and the Mongsen were forced to come to Chongliyimtī and form a "khel" side by side with the Chongh. Thus began their long co partnership. From Chongliyimtī the Aos began their invasion of their present country. All except a few crossed the Dikhu, those who did not do so being the ancestors of the present Sangpur khel" of Longsa. Of those who crossed one big body pushed on and founded Lungkam, while the majority settled at Kurotang, a now vacant site on Ungma land. Of these one body moved up and founded Ungma while another body founded Sutsu and Kabza. From these places they gradually spread over the land. It is interesting to note that two of the earliest villages founded were ruled by women. One was Sangtamla, where the present Subdivisional Officer's bungalow stands, and one was the first foundation of Kabza on a site a short distance from its present one. Neither seems to have been a great success. Sangtamla was obliterated by Mokongtsu raiders, while at Kabza female rule did not last long, though in the present village the custom still obtains of having a recognized woman representative of the female point of view, who states her arguments with emphasis and reiteration in any case before the village council where her sex is involved. She is not, however, recognized as a member of the council and has no privileges.

I have been at pains to collect all the traditional information possible as to the people whom the Aos found in possession of their present country when they invaded it. These stories give us some of our very rare glimpses of the early history of the hills and may help to throw welcome light on the complicated question of the origin and composition of the Naga tribes as we know them to day. For Naga invaders do not as a rule obliterate their foes. More usually,

¹ This ordeal of lot fat is still occasionally administered by Changs before any specially dangerous enterprise. When Santok was attacked by a combination of eleven villages the chief Chabasutlang made some of his warriors undergo it. One of them is still alive—Hangsajomchung alias Hangsapokba (Hangsa of the prominent teeth). It is said that the old man will still do it as an exhibition on occasions provided he gets the rest of the pig which must be a big one.—J. P. M.

after reducing the village which is their objective to a suitable frame of mind by repeated raids, they come and live in it as overlords, take wives from it, and gradually absorb it into their own community. Even if the greater part of the invaded village does retreat out of range, as sometimes happens, some are almost sure either to remain or to creep back to an existence inglorious but secure. So that "the Canaanites who dwelt in the land" must form an important element in the Ao stock of to day. The Aos describe these people under three names. As they pressed north east along the Langbangkong they came in contact with a people, whom they call Isangyongr, living at Yongyuntı. The two races lived there side by side for a time, but eventually the Isangyongr moved on and now form part of the population of Tamlu and Chota Kanchung. Their abandoned sites are marked by small monoliths, such as Konyaks still put up. Again one hears of battles with Nokrangr¹. One of their villages was situated at Nokrangrmangkoturong ("the place where the Nokrangr hang their enemies' heads") on what is now Mongsenyımtı land. Another traditional site is Nokpoyımchen, which was broken up by Lungkam, the survivors crossing the Brahmaputra and settling in the hills on the north bank, where they seem to have formed part at any rate of the Dafia tribe of to day². About 1907, so accurate is traditional memory, two Dafias actually found their way to Nokpoyımchen to see "the place where their forefathers had lived". Natusu, on Waromung land, was another Nokrangr site. But their biggest and most famous village was at

¹ This would mean "Dao slicing people," rang implying a slicing as opposed to a chopping cut. Such a drawing cut would be the only stroke possible with the long two handed sword like 'daos,' of which a few specimens exist in Changki—see illustration facing p. 61. I have occasionally heard the Nokrangr spoken of as Noklangr, "men of the long 'daos,'" noklang being the general Ao word for all obsolete long tanged 'daos' whether of the narrow Changki type or ordinary broad pattern.—J. P. M.

For various reasons I think noklangr can be definitely preferred to Nokrangr, and has particular force if the original Ao weapon was the Kalyo Kengvu axe, which survives in the villages round Saramati, though everywhere giving way to the long "dao". Mr. O. Callaghan reports that Rangpang Nagas use no weapon except the "dao".—J. H. H.

² It must be to some such story as this that Playfair refers (*The Garos* p. 24), but I know of no tradition specifying the Garo Hills as the place where the fugitives settled. Probably no Ao even knows where those particular hills are.—J. P. M.

Alungtakib, just outside Lakhuni village, where the Government Rest House stands now. Here too they were raided by Lungkam. Some of the refugees made for the plains and are thought by the Aos to be the ancestors of the Miris of the Brahmaputra. Another tradition says that some of these refugees turned up into the hills again near the present Konyak village of Anaki. Such, at any rate, is the origin claimed by the Noklang clan of Konyaks in Tamlu and Namsang. Those who did not go down to the plains founded Nancham.¹ It is clear from the description given that these Nokrangr were Konyaks of sorts. They are said to have been potters and to have shaved their heads at the sides, wearing their hair in a bun at the back with a flat piece of bamboo stuck through just as many Konyaks do to this day.

The third people we hear of are the Molungr, whose name is still preserved in the Molungkong ridge between Khensa and Mubongchokut, and in the village Molungyimchen. They were expert blacksmiths and potters, and did not eat pork.² One of their villages was at Noksenkuni close to Longchang. The founders of Longchang held them in such respect that they bought the right to found a village for twelve cloths and one mithan. But the two villages were too close for peace and in the inevitable quarrel the Molungr were defeated and began their long retreat to the North. Eventually they were driven into the plains. Some returned and lived at Molungyimchen, where they are represented by the Sanglicher clan. Others are said to have crossed the Assam Valley and settled in the hills on the north bank, while others again worked their way along and turned up into the hills again in the Konyak country. There is no tradition

¹ Usually called Longsamtang the name by which it is known to the Chongli Aos.—J. P. M.

² It is worth noting that the Singphos classify the Chinese into those who eat and those who abstain from pork (Jenkins *Notes on a Trip across the Patkoi Range in the Selection of Papers regarding the Hill Tracts between Assam and Burma*) the Nagas of Maram and some allied villages in Manipur do not eat pork (information given by Mr. C. Gimson). In German New Guinea it is not eaten because the souls of the dead enter into pigs (*Golden Bough* VIII 296) though a different reason is given elsewhere (*ibid.* 33). I believe pork is still taboo in parts of the Hebrides and besides the Jews and Muslims it was not eaten by the worshippers of Attis, of Adonis and of Osiris except once a year (*Golden Bough* VIII, pp. 22 sqq.)—J. H. H.

as to the appearance or dress of the Molungr, but pot-making and blacksmith's work are Konyak, and not Ao, crafts. Indeed it would be safe to say, I think, that Isang-yongr, Nokrangr and Molungr are only three names for the early Konyak inhabitants of the Ao country.

It may have been noticed that the Changki group has not been touched on in the account I have given of the Ao traditions of invasion. My reason is that it stands on a very different footing from the Chongli and Mongsen groups, who are undoubtedly later arrivals in the Ao country. Waromung was the first Mongsen village on the Changkikong. But Changki had already occupied and abandoned the site. Though their dialect closely resembles Mongsen they differ markedly from them and from the Chongli in certain respects, and I am convinced they contain a far larger proportion of Konyak blood. Indeed Nancham, one of the Changki group of villages, is definitely said to have been founded by Nokrangr. Tradition says that they once wore a cane belt for their sole garment, as many Konyaks still do. Konyaks, again, make pots, but for all Ao villages except those of the Changki group this art is "tabu."¹ They speak vaguely—very vaguely—of having originated from Lungterok, but the first settlement they name is Lungyalinjuk, on Mongsenyimti land not far from Nokrangrmangkoturong, a Nokrangr site.

How long it took the Aos to reach the zenith of their power, and how long it was before they began to draw in their frontiers under pressure from younger and more vigorous tribes coming up from the south west we have no means of knowing, for there are no long genealogies or oral traditions to help the enquirer to estimate dates. But it is clear that first the Lhotas and then the Semas began to press them back to their present frontier, on which they were barely holding their own when the British came. For long the Aos had maintained friendly relations with the Ahom Rujas, and several villages received grants of land in the plains in exchange for presents and promises to refrain from raiding.

¹ So in Manipur no genuine Manipuri makes pots. This is done by the Lois, who though speaking Meithei and virtually Manipuris to the outsider, are regarded as distinct, and inferior, in Manipur.—J. H. H.

When, therefore, the British took over the Assam Valley it was considered advisable to leave no doubt in the Nagas' minds of the reality of the change. Captain Brodie was accordingly directed to make a tour in the Ao country in 1844¹. But it was many years before the hills were taken over and head hunting went on as merrily as before. In 1885 another tour was made and orders were given that war must cease but the country was not formally annexed. Matters were brought to head by a great raid by Changs on Mong-senyimti in June 1888,² in which the Aos lost at least a hundred and fifty heads. As we had ordered the Aos to cease from attacking each other it was felt to be incumbent on us to protect them against invasions from without. An expedition was accordingly sent against the Changs in December 1888 and they were made to understand that raids

¹ *Vide* Political Proceedings of the Government of Bengal, October 19th 1844 No 193 126.—J P M

² A petition presented to Mr McCabe Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills in this year by a teacher of the American Baptist Mission is worth reproducing in full. It runs as follows —

Petition given to Mr McCabe in 1888

HONOURED SIR

We who give one respective makes herein below respective offer to place one charge under the protection of the British male and pray that an acciduration of the following statement the English Government will be pleased to direct necessary arrangement and enquiries to be made in the matter

We are chiefs or headmen of the changs (i.e. villages) mentioned against over names we are all independent of each other having no king or a common head over us. Most of us have received the light of Christianity and even a glimpse of civilization through the remitting labours of the Evangelical Society. But notwithstanding the beneficial effect that are being more to raise us to the state of humanity the wild habit and savageness national to an unprotected people like over awe have hitherto returned all progress for mutual quarrel and bloodness resulting therefore have greatly thinned us to have made our lives precarious. We therefore anxiously pray that on a personal inspection favour real condition over homes each stipulations may be made with us as may be occasioned necessary to ensue allegiance on one side and protection with other

Sir

We are remain as

Your most obedient servant

Hudhan Christian (sic)

Native Teacher

Here follow names of men and villages

(It is of course untrue that most of the Aos were Christians at that time, most of them are not Christians yet. It is further untrue that the Aos wished to be taken over. It was only the feeble and less virile villages where incidentally the teaching of the American Baptist Mission has always been most readily accepted that desired war to cease. The powerful villages would far rather have been left alone.)—J P M

across the Dikhu would involve retribution swift and sure. An outpost with a small garrison was established at Mong-senyimti, and the Ao country was formally annexed in April 1889. The subdivisional headquarters were soon afterwards established at Mokokehung.

Phratries and Clans.

The question of the rights of phratries and clans in dress, social organization, etc., will crop up so frequently that it will be convenient if I deal with the somewhat bewildering subdivisions of the Aos without delay.

Chongli Clans.

The principal Chongli clans are given below, grouped under their phratries

Pongen phratry—Pongenr, Yimsungr, Aotang, Wozukamr, Lungkungr, Tsitir, Charir, Chongli Aiyir, Yongpur, Hobir.

Lungkam phratry—Lungkamr, Azupongr, Makampong, Mangkotsungmen, Mozur, Shomisensenzyar, Saiyichang, Ratuchang, Shompuchang, Lamtur, Azukamr.

Chami phratry.—Chamur, Chamitsur or Tsuwar, Chami-chang, Mongkamchang, Tamachang, Mutsubu, Sampur, Longrur, Tutangungshi, Amang, Merang, Lamtu-ungr, Yatenr, Chichir or Michipar, Chaochir, Chisar.

Of the three phratries the Pongen is definitely regarded as the senior and the Chami as the junior. The former is considered, probably correctly, to correspond to the Ang clan among the Konyaks, and has many privileges in the way of shares of meat ¹ and the right to wear certain ornaments.² In villages where there are no members of this phratry their rights in meat are usually held by the Lungkam phratry. The Chami have the fewest privileges of all and their inferior position suggests that they represent the people whom the Chongli absorbed in the course of their conquests. It is significant in this connection that the Konyaks call the Chami Aos "Noklang," the name given to the refugees from the Ao country who now form a clan in Tamlu and Nam-sang.³ All the phratries are strictly exogamous and except

¹ See p. 183

² See p. 42

³ See p. 10

where at Chonghyimti (the scene of nearly all Ao miracles), two brothers went fishing. They put some small fry which they had caught in a hollow bamboo with water, corked it up with leaves and put it on the fire to stew. When they looked inside to their astonishment the fish were still alive. Not to be done out of their meal they put in a cork of leaves of a different kind, and the fish were soon cooked. But curiosity got the better of their hunger, and they again put in the first cork and replaced the bamboo on the fire, when, behold, instead of being cooked to a pulp the fish came to life again. So the brothers realized that there was some wonderful virtue in these leaves¹ and carefully marked the tree from which they had picked them. Whenever any of their clan fell ill all they had to do was to put some of these leaves by his head, and he immediately recovered. The death rate being thus reduced to a minimum, the clan grew so big and powerful that the other clans determined to massacre it in self defence. A stand up fight in the open would have been useless, for the "daos" and spears of this undying clan were so sharp as to earn for them the nickname of Tsitir ("terrifying people"). At last it was decided to spare all the women and girls and suddenly to fall upon and kill all the males on the night when a man named Lungti sang was to perform the mithan sacrifice. This plan was carried out and, the Tsitir being caught unawares, all the males were slaughtered except one baby boy. His mother caught up in the confusion, and took into her house, where she cut off his little cap of hair, so that he looked like a girl as his mother carried him about in a cloth with only his shaven head sticking out. She dressed him in girl's clothes and kept him in her house till he was grown up. Then she bade him sharpen his "dao" and spear and go out and stand up for his rights. No one would tackle him and he lived and flourished and refounded the clan, but the secret of the magical leaves was lost. The founder of the Charir clan was a stranger caught by a Yimsungr man just outside Ungma. The stranger was carrying a bag slung round him and in this bag were found an armlet and a skirt of the

¹ Cf. Shakespear, *Lushai Kuki Clans* p. 183—J. H. H.

pattern worn by Yimsungr women. The Yimsungr therefore regard the Charir as very closely connected with them, indeed as their adopted children. The Chongli Aiyir seem to have come over from the Mongsen group.

In the Lungkam phratry the clan from which it takes its name is regarded as senior. The Mozur clan originated as follows. On the day when Shiluti and his twenty nine companions raided Kuboh,¹ he caught a boy alive and instead of taking his head determined to keep him "as medicine" (*mozti*) because he had no children of his own. So the boy was brought up in Shiluti's house and from him sprang the Mozur clan. Some of this clan afterwards rejoined the Mongsen and are known as Mulir, *mul*² being the Mongsen word for medicine. At another time Shiluti found that his fish-trap was being robbed. The thief left no tracks on the bank and he could find no clue as to who the culprit was. So, like many another great man in a difficulty, he consulted his wife, by name Tsongtsongsemle. She advised him to set a trap. He did so, and found next morning that the thief, a gibbon, had fallen from a purposely broken bamboo into the trap and could not get out.³ Shiluti pulled him out and kept him, and he turned into a man and founded the Shomisensenzyar clan. This clan is regarded as closely connected with the Mozur, both being descended from adopted sons of Shiluti. Another very interesting clan, found only at Merangkong, is the Azukamr ("the people who grew out of a dog"). Shiluti is again the hero. One day he went hunting with a particularly fine hunting dog called Konak (or Komak). The dog ranged on ahead and could not be called back. So Shiluti had to go home without it, but all night it howled round about the village, and sometimes its howl was like the sound of a man calling. In the morning when Shiluti went to look for it, he found it half turned into a man. So greatly had it changed that he would hardly have recognized it but for a

¹ See p. 7 *supra*.

² Clearly the same as the Chang word *môl* = medicine — J. H. H.

³ I think this method of trapping is employed for monkeys and for python in the Malay Peninsula and it is used by the Kabuis (Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 67) and by the Lhotas (Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 63) — J. H. H.

white spot on its forehead. The transformation was soon complete and it became the forebear of the Azukamr clan. Members of the clan are said invariably to have a scar on their bodies somewhere, representing the white spot on the dog's forehead, and to be very fine runners "like hunting dogs."¹ They do not at the present time avoid eating dogs' flesh,² and even if they ever did so they would be likely

¹ There are several Melanesian parallels to this belief. In Mota children are believed to resemble physically and mentally the animal with which they are connected at birth (Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, I, 152). The *Mbembla* group in Santa Cruz have red eyes like the red *mbembla* fish from which they are descended (Rivers, *op cit.*, I, 219). In New Ireland the *Taragan* and *Pakilaba* moieties are believed to resemble physically the birds with which they are respectively connected (Rivers, *op. cit.*, pp. 502 and 503) — J. P. M.

² I think that they gave me as a reason for abandoning the "tabu" on dog meat the view that it is too valuable medicinally to abstain from, and it may be noted that Major Sewell, writing of the Nicobars, remarks that though the dog "is undoubtedly the totem of the tribe," nevertheless occasionally in some of the islands one is sacrificed and is then cooked and eaten (*Journ. Bombay Nat. Hist. Soc.*, Dec. 1922, p. 972). So, too, it is a Batta totem in Sumatra where one clan abstains from it (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, XI, 223). Dog flesh is used as a food in many parts of the world. Not to mention the Chinese, Astley's *Voyages* (III, 17) records this in West Africa (Whidah), Major Blake (*Discovery*, Vol. IV, No. 43, July, 1923) reports it from Siwa in the Sahara; Brown (*Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 136), in Samoa, Soppitt (*Account of the Kacheha Naga—Empé—Tribe*, p. 20) in the North Cachar Hills, Lowin (*Wild Races of S. E. India*, p. 220) of the Kumi in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and Shihabuddin Talish, the historian of Mir Jumla's expedition to Assam, mentions the fondness of Garos for it, and says that dogs instinctively howl and run away from a Garo (Blochmann, in *J. A. S. B.*, I, of 1872), a trait which the Assamese dog certainly displays towards the Naga; they are said to growl even inside the house fence when an unseen Naga passes down the road. In fact the dog seems to be eaten either as a delicacy or as ordinary food in at any rate four of the five continents. In modern Europe we are perhaps only credited with eating it unbeknownst to us, but apparently they were eaten in Rome in Plautus' time (Dalechampius, commenting on a passage in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXIX, iv).

The ceremonial consumption of dog is recorded in Luzon by Jenks (*The Bantoc Igorot*, pp. 110-11, 142-43), and Frazer (*The Golden Bough*, *Folk Lore in the Old Testament*, etc.) gives a very large and widespread number of instances of the sacrifice of dogs on important occasions such as a cementing of friendship, the making of peace, the taking of oaths, in rain making, etc. *Holidays* (in *Discovery*, June 1922) mentions the sacrifice of dogs in Sparta and in Caria to the God of War, and in Argos to a fertility god. The Macedonians and Boeotians sacrificed them in purification rites (Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, I, 408), and the Romans seem to have impaled them, *viz.* in *furca sambucea fixi* (Pliny, *loc. cit.*), just as a Kuku or Naga to day impales a miserable pup on a "panji." The Bulgar leader, Krum, sacrificed dogs before Constantinople in 813 (Howarth, *The Bulgarians*, *J. R. A. I.*, XI, iii, 243), and in mediæval Europe and later dogs were a favourite animal in offerings to the Devil (Murray, *Witch Cult in Western Europe*, pp. 154, 155. *Uf. The Angami Nagas*, p. 204). When the Semas fix a boundary between an old village and its colony, they burn a wretched whelp alive on the spot fixed.

long ago to have given up any prohibition likely to perpetuate what is regarded as a very scandalous story. But the name Azukamr sticks, the other clans see to that

Both these uses of the dog and its use in disease may alike be the outcome of a vague feeling of veneration for the dog such as that recorded on the part of the Kenyahs by Hose and McDougall (*Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, I, 249), such a feeling as the sagacity and the valuable qualities of the dog to man, particularly in hunting, might well give rise to, qualities which have been recognized by the substitution of canine for human victims on the Nile (Frazer, *GB*, IV, 17) in Hawaii (*id Belief in Immortality*, II, 426) and in the Naga Hills (*J.R.A.I.*, LII, p. 69), as well as in the honours paid to hunting dogs, who were crowned in ancient Italy (*GB*, I, 14) and in the Naga Hills are buried with particular respect (*The Angami Nagas*, p. 81, *The Sema Nagas* p. 70, Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 63, and so too Konyak Nagas and the Thados), and are allotted a share of game killed by the Oraons (S. C. Roy, *The Oraons*, pp. 157, 237), the Khasis (Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 48), and by probably all Naga tribes (Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 56, Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 65, Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 89, *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 75 sq., 337), Cole (*The Tinguian*, p. 412) records a custom in the Philippines which is probably the same, though he does not say so.

Whatever the reason may be, however, the dog appears to have been associated from early times with the treatment of disease. Apart from the hair of the dog that bit you" remedy, which is recognized by the Semas (*v The Sema Nagas*, p. 101) as well as by ourselves, the Chinese put virtue in a hair from the tail of a dog which didn't bite you (Dennys, *Folklore of China*, p. 51). As a sacrifice in illness the dog is used as the sacrifice par excellence by all the Kuku tribes, whether Thado (e.g. McCulloch, *Valley of Munnipore*, p. 56), Lushai (Shakespeare, *The Lushai Kuku Clans*, pp. 75, 77, 102) or Chins (Carey & Tuck, *Chin Hills Gazetteer*, I, 200), and his use in sacrifice for disease is also reported from New Guinea (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, I, 296), from Hawaii (*ibid*, II, 405), and from the Koryaks of Siberia (Frazer, *Folk Lore in the Old Testament*, I, 410). Doubtless in most of these cases the body of the sacrificed animal is eaten by the sacrificer, but sometimes the consumption of the flesh has a very definite purpose, as when dog flesh is eaten by the Kansas Indians of the west or by the Buru and Aru islanders of the East Indies in order to become brave (*GB*, VIII, 145). The Huancas of Peru worshipped the dog, held its meat to be most savoury, and consumed it at their greatest festival, and apparently also regarded dog as inspiring courage (Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, III, 579). The Angamis, who eat dog at the Sekrengi, an important annual festival, certainly regard its flesh as health giving (*The Angami Nagas*, p. 204), and so, I think, do most other Nagas, particularly the Sema, though the Kinimi clan of that tribe, together with a section of the Awoms, profess to abstain from dog flesh (*The Sema Nagas*, pp. 104, 123). In Europe the flesh, blood or fat of dogs has certainly been regarded from the earliest times as having medicinal properties. In Ireland "the blood of many dogs" forms part of a charm against poison (Wilde, *Ancient Legends, etc., of Ireland*, where it is also recorded that a hound was killed 'for the Great Worm'). A writer to *The Lancet* of Nov. 12th, 1921, mentions the use in the north of England of a remedy called "dog oil" for arthritis, and notes that the *Pharmacopée Universelle* of 1763 gave directions for the preparation of ointment, oil and liniment from dogs for use in rheumatism. Another writer to *The Lancet* (Nov. 26th, 1921) quotes a recipe for dog oil from Culpeper's *Pharmacopœia Londinensis* of 1659—

* Take of Sallet oyl four pound, two Puppy dogs newly whelped, earth

The Chami phratry is regarded as specially connected with water. It was Yimsangperung of the Tsuwar clan who was first shown water by a bulbul¹. For this reason Chami women are usually called Tsungalar ("water finders") to this day, and certain duties in connection with water ceremonies must be performed by men of this phratry. Of the other clans the Chaochur have a curious story attached to them. It is said that once upon a time Mangrong² was inhabited by immigrants from the plains of Burma. They burnt their dead³—hence the name of the place,

worms washed in white wine, etc." and Culpeper adds, "It is excellent good to bathe those Limbs and Muscles that have been weakened by wounds or bruises"

These instances perhaps carry one back to Pliny again (*Nat. Hist.*, XXIX, iv), for he says, "*sanguine canino contra toxica nihil praestantius putatur*," and again, "*catulos lactentes adeo puros existimabant ad cibum*," on which Dalechampi, his seventeenth century editor, comments that dogs were sacrificed at the Lupercalia and to the Bona Dea, and refers to two passages in Hippocrates, Book II, where dog flesh is prescribed, quoting from one of them "οψόνιον δ' ἐχέτω κρίας κυνὸς μέλινον." Hippocrates seems to have been a believer in the flesh of dogs and whelps, for another correspondent of *The Lancet* (Dec. 11, 1921) points out that he recommended "σκυλακλαίον κρίας" as a remedy in consumption, though this may occur in one of the two passages already referred to, as I have had no opportunity of consulting the original.

It is possible that the virtue of dog flesh is deduced from the observation of the healing effects of a dog licking its own wounds. The first correspondents of *The Lancet* referred to reported that a whole family in Co. Durham recently ascribed their recovery from scabies to the lickings of a pet dog, and he suggested that the belief originates in a misunderstanding of the Scriptural case of Lazarus, who succumbed to the treatment. It is, however, older than that, for Halliday, in the article in *Discovery* already referred to, quoting the French proverb *Langue de chien sert de médecine*, refers to the miraculous cures recorded of the shrine of Asclepius at Epidauros which were effected by the licking of the patient by Asclepius' sacred dogs, and states that at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. the Athenians offered sacrifices to the sacred dogs at a shrine of Asclepius. He refers in this connection to Frazer, *Pausanias*, III, 249, and to Farnell, in the *Classical Quarterly*, XIV, 139 sq.—J. H. H.

¹ So in Thado legend the first inhabitants who emerged upon upper earth became thirsty, but did not know where to find water, which was, however, shown to them by a bird (McCulloch, *Account of the Valley of Munnipore*, p. 50).—J. H. H.

² A village below Lungkam, now occupied by Semas.—J. P. M.

³ The Hill tribes of Burma who burn their dead include the Maru branch of the Singphos (Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, I, 1, 386), and the Lolos (*ibid.*, 615). There may be others, but it is interesting to learn from Sir George Grierson (personal letter dated 21/6/23) that the language spoken by the Southern Sangtams of the Phorr (Photsimi) group of villages, while it is in some ways allied to the language of the Sangtams proper, and to that of the Trans Dikhu village of Tangsa, contains words which appear to be Lolo and even Miao, and cannot as a whole be relegated to any definite Naga group.

which means "corpse burning"—but otherwise imitated Aos in every detail of their lives. And indeed they were apparently accepted as Aos till one on his death-bed called out "*ayu, ayu* (mother, mother)" This gave the show away, for no Ao dialect uses *ayu* for "mother." They were, however, absorbed into the tribe and their descendants live at Mongsenyimti. The Amang,¹ Merang and Lamtu-ungr are regarded as later additions to the Chongli group, they and some of the Mozur having remained many generations with the Sangpur on the right bank of the Dikhu. Yatenr is said to mean "first hungry people" and the story about them is this. An old man called Takutsu of the Chamr clan, in the old days at Chonghyimti, went down with his friends to work in the fields. He was the first to feel hungry and suggested knocking off for the midday meal. All sat down and the leaf parcels of cold rice were opened, when it was noticed, to everyone's amusement, that the old man, though so eager for his food, had forgotten to bring any. The nickname he earned that day has stuck to him and to the clan he founded.

Mongsen Clans

Below are the principal Mongsen clans arranged in phratries according to the most commonly accepted grouping.

First phratry—Aiyir, Tsangso tang Aiyir, Yimchenchar, Alapchar, Achamr, Yungpur, Mongsen Tsitir, Waligr, Longtangr, Lunggramr, Atsungchangr.

Second phratry—Muir, Mongsentsungr, Mongsen Lamtur,

The Chang tribe seem at one time to have been in contact with people that burnt their dead, as they express a considered opinion that burning is a bad way to dispose of the dead, since it is likely to inflict unnecessary pain on them.

Several hill tribes in Assam and their confines burn their dead—the Khasis, the Garos, the Kacharis (who bury as an alternative), the Taroan and Miju Misamis in Assam, the Chakma and Khyangtha in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Lewis *Hill Races of S. E. India* p. 185), the Lepchas of Nepal and Bikkim (Hooker *Himalayan Journals* I, 126, 271) and the Santals and the Juangs, Mundas, Hos, Oraons, Gonds and other tribes of Chota Nagpur (Dalton *Ethnography of Bengal*)—J. H. H.

¹ A Sema origin is sometimes attributed to the Amang. The Sangpur used to occupy a portion of what is now Sema territory.—J. P. M.

Mongsen Sampur, Lungchar or Lungchachar, Sanghchar or Molungr, Kabzar

Third phratry—Ochichar, Langwar, Nungsuchar, Kichuchar, Asampachar, Lungtsuchar, Ningsangchar, Anichar

The phratries are strictly exogamous. That is to say a man may not marry a woman of a clan which local opinion regards as belonging to his phratry or to a corresponding Chongh phratry. But there is considerable deviation in local custom, and some clans are assigned to one phratry in one group of villages and to another in another. The Mongsen having no names of their own for their phratries use the Chongh terms. Indeed a Mongsen man when asked his clan will often at first give the name of the Chongh clan which he regards as corresponding to his own only giving his clan its true Mongsen name when pressed. No one however, goes so far as to pretend they are Chongh when they are really Mongsen. The Chongh recognize the Mongsen phratries and Chongh and Mongsen of corresponding phratries cannot intermarry.

It will be noticed that a number of names of clans end in *char*. This can be translated either "eaters" or "clan descendants" according to the root from which it is regarded as being derived. The Ao prefers the first translation and supports it with lame stories and forced derivations. A man of the Ochichar clan for instance, says the word means "sparrow eater" and not "sparrow race" and produces a pointless story in support of his theory. But the Kichuchar can hardly get out of the difficulty in this way, for to be an eater of worms (*kichu*) is little better than to have a worm for an ancestor, while Anichar must be translated "sun clan," "sun eater" being obviously absurd. I am myself convinced that *char* means "clan" and is equivalent to *pachar*. In the name of a clan one would expect a termination meaning "clan" and translated in this way one gets ordinary totemistic names.¹

In the first phratry, which corresponds to the Chongh

¹ Might it not be that *char* means both clan and eater and that the eating had reference originally to a ceremonial eating of the Totem?
—J H H

Pongen phratry, the Alapchar ("slave clan") is regarded as closely connected with the Yimchenchar clan, and the following story is told of its origin. One Yaranchang of Lungkam, of the Yimchenchar clan, having gone down to a jungle stream one day to look for bamboo shoots for pickling, saw an *angel* fish spawning (*muza*). He caught it and took it home, where it turned into a boy, whom he called Muzabang. This boy he kept as a slave. Now in those days the Nokrangr lived at Nokpoyimchen and their Ang¹ Kotuba, had a wonderful time hornbill which had two black bars on its tail instead of one. One day it flew away and came to Lungkam where Yaranchang saw it eating berries in the jungle. He so coveted the tail feathers of this wonderful bird that he promised Muzabang his freedom if he could snare it. Muzabang accordingly snared it and killed it but instead of bringing it home to his master he hid the tail feathers and head in a hollow tree and told Yaranchang that he could not catch the bird. Yaranchang was suspicious, however and when Muzabang went down into the jungle again next morning his master followed his tricks and came upon him dancing by himself, with the double barred feathers stuck into his cane hat and the hornbill's head slung on his chest. Yaranchang of course made him give up the trophies, but, satisfied with his prize, not only forgave him the lies he had told, but freed him according to his promise and found a wife for him. Now Yaranchang wished to sell these wonderful feathers, so he sent out two women, Yatsungla and Acharungmang to hawk them round the country. These two came in their wanderings to Mubongchokut on the very day, as it happened, that a new body of village elders was entering office. The warriors of the village wished to kill the women in honour of the occasion, but the women asked if they might sing first, and permission being given they sang songs so sweet and so complimentary to Mubongchokut that they were allowed to go free. So they went on their way, and as ill luck would have it took the road to Nokpoyimchen. There the feathers were at once recognized as those of the Ang's

¹ Ang = village priest and chief a Konyak term — J. P. M.

lost hornbill, and, infuriated at its death, the young bucks killed the two women. A small bird brought the news to Lungkam and war parties set out to avenge them. But the warriors of Nokpoyimchen, aided by a pack of fierce war dogs, not only repulsed every raid but succeeded in annihilating one party. In despair Lungkam sent men along the Langbangkong to ask the advice of soothsayers, who replied that only a childless old couple of Waromung, Loyangpung and his wife Akhangla, could help them. So they went to Waromung, and approached Akhangla, who consented to return with them to Lungkam. There she bade another raiding party set out and gave to each warrior a ball of cold boiled rice mixed with hair and thorns. The raiders took these balls with them and threw them to the Nokpoyimchen war-dogs, which got the hair and thorns so wedged in their teeth that they could not bite and were killed. Their masters fled in dismay, and Nokpoyimchen was taken and its inhabitants slain or driven down to the plains. Because of the help given by Akhangla Lungkam has never gone to war with Waromung. When Nokpoyimchen had been finally dealt with and all the trouble was over Muzabang asked permission to found a village. His request was granted and he founded Mungchen, where the Alapachar clan is still numerous. The Aiyir and Tsangsotang Aiyir are sometimes regarded as belonging to the middle phratry. The latter are descendants of refugees from Tsangsotang, an old site in what is now the Lhota country. The Tsitir are a Mongsen branch of the Chongli Tsitir.

Of the clans in the middle phratry, which corresponds to the Chongli Lungkam, the Mulir are the Mongsen equivalent of the Chongli Mozur, and one of their subclans, the Muli Topukbr, is regarded as equivalent to the Chongli Shomisen senzyar. The Lungchachar, sometimes called Lungchar, are often included in the first phratry. Lungchar would mean "stone clan" but the Aos translate Lungchachar as "from stone-eating clan." They say that once at a feast there were not enough leaves handy for everyone to have one for a plate, so that some had to eat off the small flat slabs of stone used as lids for cooking pots. Sanglichar is

man of the Ochuchar clan sacrifices a mithan he gives shares of meat to members of the Mongsentsungr clan in memory of the day when the boys' lives were saved. The Anichar¹ ("sun clan") are descended from a woman who fainted and fell over on her back one day when she was drying rice in the sun. When she recovered she found she had been impregnated by the sun,² and the child she bore was the first man of the clan. Sometimes two clans are distinguished with the curious names of Mirir-anichar ("Trans-Dikhu people sun clan"), and Tsumar anichar ("Plainsman sun clan"). These are regarded as the descendants of two women, one of whom was impregnated by the sun as it rose over the Eastern hills, and one by the sun as it set over the plains.

¹ In some villages the Anichar clan is regarded as belonging to the Chamu phratry of the Chongli group — J. P. M.

² The Palaungs, a Mon Khmer race in Burma, claim the sun as their ancestor by a union with a *me naga*, or serpent princess (Cochrane, *The Shans*, I, 58, and Scott and Hardiman, *op cit.*, I, 1, 484 sq.), and some Kukis have also a sun origin story (*v. Folk Lore* XXVI, 1, 83 sq., where some parallels are given, Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, I, 1, 458). Not to mention the Mikado, certain tribes in Indonesia, in Timor in particular, also seem to claim descent from the sun (Perry, *Megalithic Culture in Indonesia*, ch. xi), and a similar claim is made by the Yuchi Indians of Oklahoma and by the Chief of the Natchez of the Mississippi (Frazer, *G B*, VIII 75, 135). So also the Pueblo Indians (Perry, *Children of the Sun*, pp. 143, 212).

Still nearer to the Ao story is that of the origin of the Kirghiz of Siberia, whose ancestress fainted in the sunlight (*G B*, X, 74, cf. Purchas, *His Pilgrimage*, IV, vi, § 2, 1 20. The Tartar Emperor Chingiz Khan is 'ingendred of the Sun beames'), while the Indians of Guacheta in Colombia had an ancestor born of a maid on whom the rising sun had shone (*ibid.*) and Sir James Frazer suggests that the story of Danaë is another case, the shower of gold being the rays of the sun. Perhaps the more cynical interpretation one naturally puts on the story is the product of a grosser age.

So too among the Chaco Indians, by the Turks of Siberia, in Central Asia, by the Iranians, by the Hindus the sun has been credited with the power of impregnation, and in Brittany and Greenland the moon (*ibid.*, p. 75 sq.). In the same belief, girls in the Pacific (Tahiti, Samoa, Fiji, New Ireland) are or were secluded before marriage to prevent their being impregnated by the sun, the girls in the latter place being kept in wicker cages for years, and not allowed out till after sunset. Even so in Samoa and in Tahiti stories were related of children born as a result of the sun's having crept through somehow or other (St. Johnston, *Islanders of the Pacific*, p. 167 sq., and Man (July 1923) XXIII, 61, p. 102).

With reference to the Tsumar anichar it is perhaps worth noting that the ancestress of the Guacheta above referred to was one of two sisters who were exposed together to the rays of the rising sun till one of them conceived. The other apparently did not, and we are not told that the experiment was then tried with the setting sun, but it clearly ought to have been, if only to provide a good parallel for anthropologists — J. H. H.

Changkı Clans

It was mentioned above that there is considerable divergence of opinion as to what are the proper phratries of certain Mongsen clans. In the Changkı group there appears to be no division into phratries at all. Thus, assuming, as I think we may, that the Changkı, Mongsen and Chonglı groups represent three waves of invasion of which the Changkı group was the first and the Chonglı group the last we get the common Naga three fold division into phratries non-existent in the first wave, somewhat vague in the second and clear cut in the last.

The clans found in the Changkı group are named as follows

- { Lungcharı ("stone clan")
- { Ungtsıı
- { Metamsangba
- { Losıngları
- Amrı ("gourd clan")¹
- Changkırı ("Changkı people")
- Alıngrı ("tying bamboo clan")
- Metsıı ("aloof clan")

Members of the four clans bracketed together may not intermarry. Otherwise a man may marry a woman of any clan but his own. The Lungcharı are definitely regarded as the senior clan. One "khel" of Changkı is known as the Chonglı "khel" and consists of people who fled from Changbang when it was taken by the Lhotas. All its inhabitants have long ago been absorbed into Changkı clans, but women of this "khel," no matter what their adopted clan may be, tie their hair with black strings after the Chonglı style and retain the Chonglı pattern of tattoo. The group as a whole, always eager to emphasize the pureness of their Ao blood, often speak of themselves as Mongsen, and returned themselves as such in the last census.

¹ The Wa have a story of an origin from a gourd (Scott and Hardiman, *Ga etteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, I : 496) and so have the Shans, Ahoms and Lahus (Cochrane *The Shans* I 120 sqq). The Oraons have an Amrı clan but Roy (*The Oraons*, p. 327) gives the meaning of the word as "rice soup" — J H H

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Their dialect, which is very closely akin to that of the Mongsens, lends colour to the identification. Changki and other villages of the group are reticent on the subject of the origin of their clans and I have been able to record no stories, save the tradition that the Changkiri clan are descended from a plantain tree. The teaching of the American Baptist Mission has made great progress in this group. Old customs are fast being abandoned and it is considered rather improper to relate old traditions, even if they are not forgotten. I remember once I made what I thought was a joke before the head men of Changki village. It was received with rather sickly smiles. Later in the evening a man came to me and said, "When the head man had left you they laughed like anything at what you had said, but they do not laugh much in public because they are Christians"¹. There is not much in the way of (according to Ao ideas) spicy stories of antiquity to be got out of informants of this type. But the proportion of Changki clans named after plants, etc., is remarkable, and one is tempted to say, looking at the three groups of the Chongli, Mongsens and Changki, that as the strictness of the division into phratries decreases so the proportion of totemistic clan names increases. For I am convinced that the traces of ancient totemism are stronger in the Ao tribe than among the other Naga tribes which have been studied. Indeed, according to Sir James Frazer's definition of the belief,² the Wozukamr clan practise totemism to this day.

Appearance

While there is no appreciable difference in appearance between persons of the Chongli, Mongsens and Changki groups,³ Aos have a distinct average appearance of their own which distinguishes them from other tribes, though it is difficult to put into words just where the difference lies. The average height of the men is about five feet eight, the

¹ Cf. p. 415 *infra* —J. P. M.

² Sir James Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. IV, pp. 3 and 4 —J. P. M.

³ Mrs. Clark, in the introduction to her *Ao Naga Grammar*, says that Mongsens are more Mongolian in appearance than Chongli. This distinction has never been apparent to me —J. P. M.



A YOUNG MAN OF LONGMISA VILLAGE



A YOUNG MAN OF MUK NUTSU VILLAGE SH WING WAY
HAIR

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women being some two inches shorter. In colour the Ao, like other Nagas, varies from light to darkish brown. Faces of the pale, sallow type are not common, but men and women with a distinct ruddy flush are often seen, and in no tribe have I seen so many men with red noses! The cephalic index of the tribe is 78.88, and the nasal index 81.42.¹ Wavy hair is the rule and in some individuals it is strongly curled. Perfectly straight hair, such as one sees among the Semas, is exceptional. In colour it is dark brown in children and black in the adult.² Red is very occasionally met with. There is a little girl in Chuchu Yimlang of pure Ao blood whose hair can only be described as "Burne-Jones"³ Most individuals have a fairly strong growth of hair on the body, in this differing markedly from the Semas, and approaching the Konyaks. Beards are not admired and most young men pull out the hairs from their chins, but old men often sport a scrubby growth. Men of the Changki group seem to have a slightly stronger growth of hair on the face than those of the other two groups. The Aos cut their hair exactly as do the Semas⁴ and Lhotas.

¹ The average cephalic index of 70 Chongli adults of ages ranging from 25 to 45 is 78.92, the range of index being from 84.18 to 72.25. Mongsen figures for 23 similar adults are an average of 78.78, and a range of from 87.08 to 73.20. The average nasal index of 69 Chongli adults is 82.02, with a range of from 59.26 to 100.00. The average for 23 Mongsen adults was 80.47, and the range 66.00 to 100.00.—J. P. M.

² It is common, if not normal, in the Naga Hills for the hair of children to be of a sort of rusty colour, which turns black as they grow up. Nagas do not admire it. Pliny seems to have caught an echo of this in his monstrous account of the races of Further India: *Ctenas gentem ex his quae appellatur Pandore, in conatibus sitam, annos ducenos vivere, in juvenia candido capillo, qui in senectute nigrescat*. Nat. Hist., VII, ii.—J. H. H.

³ Mendez Pinto mentions "bright auburn hair" in Martaban (*Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto*, translated by H. Cogan, 1663, ch. li).—J. H. H.

⁴ Aos say that they used to wear their hair long at the back, as Konyaks do, but that they so admired the coiffure of the first Sema heads they took that they decided to imitate it.—J. P. M.

This fashion of wearing the hair in a mop, so to speak, cut straight round the head above the ears and shaved below the edge of the cut hair, appears to be confined at present to the central Naga tribes, to some on the north bank of the Brahmaputra, and perhaps some Burma tribes. It must at one time have been a much more widespread fashion, possibly associated with branches of the Mon race. Thus Ralph Fitch describes what seems to be this fashion as seen on the Ganges: "and some of them are as though a man should set a dish on their heads and shave them round, all but the crowns." Again La Loubère, who admired it like the Aos, describes what is precisely the Naga fashion as in vogue in Siam, though



YOUNG MONCSIN WOMAN OF CHUNGKIA

[To face p 29



YOUNG CHONGLI WOMAN OF UNGMA

The back and side of the head are shaved up to a line level with the tops of the ears, and the hair of the crown trimmed so that it does not overhang this line. In the old days the 'shaving' was done with a newly broken piece of "laya," the round brass discs which are used as currency,¹ while the 'trimming round' was done by tapping off the hair on the edge of a "dao" held in the hairdresser's left hand with a piece of wood or a bamboo spoon held in his right.² Nowadays the more convenient cheap razor and scissors are fast coming in. In most villages little boys from birth have their hair cut in the same way as grown men, but in some Eastern villages the heads of small boys are entirely shaved except for a small square tuft, giving them the appearance of Chinese dolls. Little girls have their heads completely shaved. Women as a rule do their hair in a bun at the back. Some of the younger ones take great trouble with their coiffure and arrange a very effective loop which stands up above the bun. Chongli and Mongsen women can be distinguished at a glance by the way they tie their hair. The former bind the bun round with strings made of their own combings and black thread, while the latter use strings of white thread. Women in Chantongia and the neighbouring villages coil their hair tightly round their crown. Hair brushes of pig's bristles are sometimes used; more often the dried fruit of the pandanus tree serves the purpose. The face is broad and somewhat Mongolian in type, prominent cheek bones and a nose with a low bridge and broad nostrils giving it a flat appearance. The eyebrows are short and often slanting; the eyes, dark brown. The body is well proportioned and neither slight nor stocky,

there it was followed, as by some Mishmis, by both sexes "Leurs cheveux sont noirs, grossiers et plats, et l'un et l'autre sexe les porte si courts, qu'ils ne descendant autour de leur tête, qu'à la hauteur des oreilles. Au-dessous de cela ils sont tondus fort près, et cet air de tête naissante ne déplaît point." (*Du Royaume de Siam*, I, xxv). The illustrations at pp 90 and 154 of the same volume—Paris, 1691—leave no doubt at all of what he meant). And in the same passage he describes an alternative fashion which must have been very much what some Konyaks and some Angamis practise still. So, too, the Abors as reported by Dalton (*Visit to Memsu in 1855*, Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XXIII, p. 160)—J. H. H.

¹ See p. 102 *infra*

² For illustration see J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 370—J. P. M.

and the whole tribe gives one the impression of being well nourished. Indeed corpulency among middle-aged men is by no means uncommon. The calves are well, but not excessively, developed. The women when young have good figures and are often decidedly handsome. The tattoo on the chin does not detract from their appearance as much as one would expect and after a few weeks' acquaintance with the tribe one ceases to notice it.

Tattooing.

Tradition has it that formerly Ao warriors who had taken heads had circles tattooed on their backs,¹ and the conventional Chang curved design on their chests,² but the practice has been given up, it is said because of the irksome food restrictions imposed on men so decorated.³ All Ao girls are, however, tattooed.⁴ The pattern varies slightly from group to group but consists, roughly speaking, of four vertical lines on the chin, a chain of lozenges from the throat to the bottom of the breast bone, inverted V's on the front of the shoulders and stomach, lozenges and solid squares on the wrists, lozenges on the lower part of the leg, and a sort of arrow pattern on the knee. The illustrations give the patterns in detail. This elaborate ornamentation usually requires five years to complete. When a girl is about ten or eleven years old her legs are tattooed up to the bottom of the calf; the next year her chin, chest and the fronts of her shoulders are completed; in the third year the pattern on the calf is done, and in the fourth year her knees are tattooed; in the final year her wrists and stomach are ornamented. All the girls of an age in the village are done the same year. In small villages there may not be enough

¹ Some Kalyo-Kengyu tattoo on each side of the back near the shoulder-blades, and it is the same tribe which manufactures the axe shaped "daos" formerly popular in the Ao country. Probably the Aos were in regular contact with them at some time and have since become separated by the migrations of their own or some other tribe — J. H. H.

² For illustration see J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 379 — J. P. M.

³ Yacham men who have taken heads have the Chang pattern tattooed on their chests, and young men of that village often sport a short vertical line between the eyes, as is the custom in some of the neighbouring Konyak villages — J. P. M.

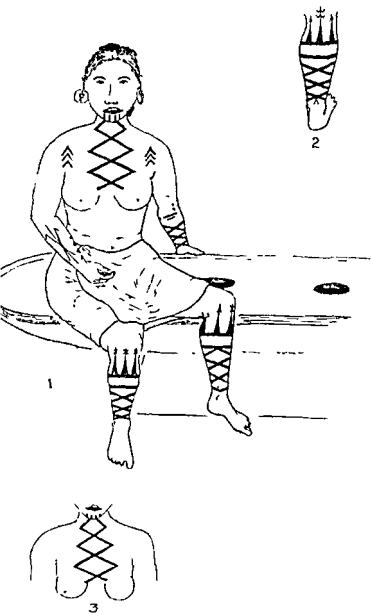
⁴ That is to say except Christian girls, the American Baptist Mission having forbidden tattooing among their converts — J. P. M.



[Drawing by Dr J H Hutton]

- 1 Tattoo of a woman of the Chongli group
- 2 Back of the leg of the same

[To face p 30]

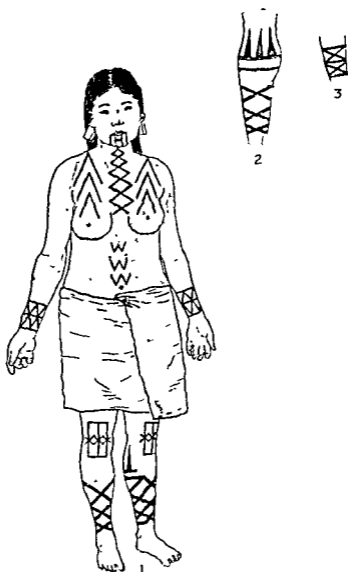


[Drawing by Dr J H Hutton

Tattoo of a woman of the Mongsen group from Longchang

Back of the leg of the same

Torso of a woman of the Mongsen group from Mokongtsu The rest as in No 1.



[Drawing by Dr. J. H. Hutton]

- 1 Tattoo of a woman of the Changla group.
2. Back of the leg of the same.
- 3 Alternative pattern for wrist.

[To face p. 30.]

girls to make it worth while calling in a tattooer every year, so that some girls may have reached marriageable age before their tattoo has been completed. Once a girl is married¹ the only addition which may be made to the tattoo already done is that on the wrists. The result is that women with incomplete tattoo are very frequently to be seen. The tattooing is a sort of *rite de passage*.² Once a girl has undergone her first year's tattoo she is regarded as a full-fledged member of the community. At this time, too, her ears are pierced to take the large brass rings (*yongmen*) which grown women of the Pongen and Lungkam phratries wear; her head, too, is no longer shaved, and her hair is allowed to grow long. She is in future regarded as a member of the clan, and, while she has hitherto been allowed to eat what she likes,³ she must henceforth avoid all prohibited food.⁴ The operation of tattooing is carried out by old women⁵ in the jungle near the village, and it is strictly forbidden in many villages for any male to be present. The old women with the necessary knowledge are to be found in comparatively few villages, and tour the country

¹ Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 11, with reference to ear boring — J. H. H.

² Cf. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 237, 240 — J. H. H.

³ Cf. the Hindu convention by which children of immature years are free to eat food which an adult could not take without being outcasted. — J. H. H.

⁴ The Changs regard it as absolutely essential that a girl should have on her forehead the pattern which is supposed to represent the mark on the head of a catfish. This pattern commemorates the sacrifice of Molola to the flood (cf. J. H. Hutton, *Molola*, p. 100 sqq., *Man in India*, Vol. II, 1922, Shakespear, *Lusher Kuki Clans*, p. 95). If a girl die before it can be tattooed it is marked in charcoal on her forehead before burial — J. P. M.

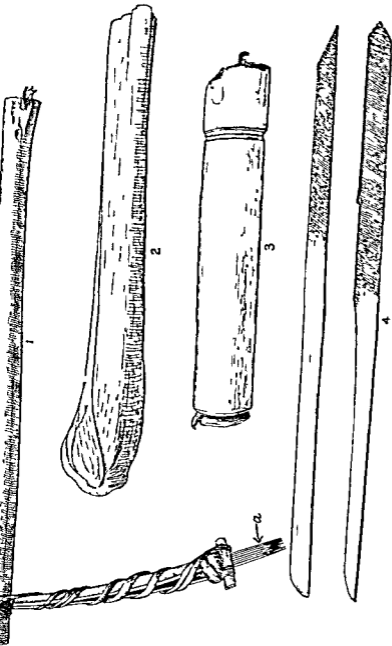
Perhaps to facilitate recognition after death, as by the Karens of Burma (Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, p. 242). Cf. also the Oraon belief (Roy, *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, p. 103), Hodson, *Primitive Culture of India*, p. 116 sqq. (Santals, Tanghuls, Abors, Daffas, Gonds), and the Negritos of Kedah (Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, II, 25), who sometimes merely mark the design with charcoal, but who regard the purpose of it as recognition in a distant country. With reference to ear-boring cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 235n — J. H. H.

⁵ This work is absolutely forbidden for a man. A semi-educated Christian Ao, who found the environment of his own village cramping, went off to Calcutta to make his fortune. He soon came back, without a fortune, but with ideas, and set up as a tattooist. His business came to an abrupt end when I found that his instruments consisted chiefly of rusty needles and that he charged Rs 10 per operation and guaranteed no sores. He died of tuberculosis in 1922, but his death was commonly attributed to the fact that he had broken the "tabu" and done woman's work — J. P. M.

in December and January, the months usually chosen for the operation on the ground that the colder it is the more quickly the sores heal. Many villages send their girls in to a particularly skilful operator at Chuchu Yimlang, they have to be carried home weeping by their relations afterwards. Till the sores are healed the girl may eat nothing but rice, bamboo pickle and birds. The knowledge of the art is hereditary in the female line, the operators teaching it to their daughters, who in turn teach it to their daughters.¹ Tradition relates that Ao women were not tattooed till the time of Yarila, the semi mythical chieftainess of Kabza. That masterful lady tied up her sister one day when the rest of the village had gone down to the fields, and tattooed her. The result, when once the sores had healed, was so much admired that the custom became universal throughout the tribe. The instrument used for puncturing the skin consists of a little bunch of cane thorns bound on to a wooden holder, which is inserted like an adze head into a piece of the stalk of a plant called *kamri* (C)² or *chenru* (M). Another plant called *yaribi* (C) or *pangchala* (M) is also sometimes used. The pattern to be tattooed is marked by the old woman on the girl's skin with a piece of wood dipped in the colouring matter, and the girl is held firmly on the ground while the marked out pattern is punctured all over with the adze like instrument (*azialangba* C, *azunglangba* M) till the blood runs. The puncturing is done by hammering this instrument on to the skin with a root of *kamri*, a particularly heavy, sappy plant with an onion shaped root. The black colouring matter (*nap* C, *naptu* M) is then applied once more after the blood has been washed off, and the maiden is left to bewail her sores till such time as they heal. Usually the colouring matter is made from the sap of the bark of a tree called *naphi* (C and M). This is collected and burnt in a pot on the fire. A leaf or a bit of broken pot is put over the receptacle in

¹ In some villages it is more or less obligatory for a daughter of a tattooer to follow her mother's profession. It is believed that she will be ill and waste away if she refuses to do so.—J 1 M

² (C) and (M) after an Ao word signify Chongli and Mongsen respectively.—J 1 M



TATTOOING KNIFE FROM CHANTONIA VITTA II

- (1) Lat. dist. β^1 , with (c) thorn (arzel)
 (2) Mallet (dist. β^1) of / unmarked

Half act. dist. c
 (3) Horns of dist. c for pigeon in (c) sp
 (4) Pigeon in with low of / unmarked

Stiffness 43

(Dist. with Mr Henry Hoff in

which the sap is burning, and the soot¹ which accumulates is collected and mixed with "rohi madhu." It is then ready for use. More rarely lumps of old gum which are found in the ground under certain trees are collected and burnt and the ash mixed with rice beer. A girl who has been tattooed may not eat cane berries or *kamri* berries till "the new rain has washed the world clean," that is to say till about the following April. If the *yaribi* plant be used instead of *kamri*, *yambi* berries are "tabu" instead of *kamri* berries. The process must be an exceedingly painful one, and the wailing and gnashing of teeth that goes up to heaven after a big batch has been done is a sound which, once heard, is not easily forgotten. But *il faut souffrir pour être belle*; a well-marked, clean tattoo is much admired, and girls seem to undergo the pain readily enough; indeed little girls often insist on being tattooed when their parents want to postpone the operation to another year. I have seen girls lie quite still, without struggling or crying, while their legs were being tattooed, only speaking to make some casual remark or to ask a friend to spit on some part of the bleeding limb which was burning. If a girl struggles and screams overmuch a fowl is hastily sacrificed close by to appease any evil spirit which may be increasing the pain. The punctures sometimes become infected, and terrible sores result, a girl occasionally even losing her leg. But considering the dirt and entire lack of precautions against infection the proportion of septic cases is very small indeed.

¹ The Thados, when, as sometimes, they tattoo their wrists, use the soot from the outside of a pot from the fire. Soot, water and sugar cane juice are used by the Kayans, who, like the Aos, also sometimes substitute burnt resin (Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, I, 253). Soot and water are used by the Igorot of Luzon (Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, p. 189), and soot is used by the Antipas of Peru (Up de Graff, *Head Hunters of the Amazon*, pp. 190, 191); so also by the Negritos of Kedah (Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, II, 35), and the Taiyal of Formosa (McGovern, *Among the Head hunters of Formosa*, p. 189). At the same time I am pretty certain that I have been told by an Ao or someone of their neighbours that the dye of *Strobilanthes flaccidifolius* was used in tattooing, and I note that the Mundas are reported to use a vegetable dye, while their neighbours the Oraons use charcoal and oil (Roy, *The Mundas*, p. 370, *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, p. 102)—J. H. H.

I have made special enquiries on the point and have been assured by Aos that they never use vegetable dye for this purpose—J. P. M.

Dress

The little apron or "lengta" (*langtam* C, *angen* M), which is worn by all Ao men is identical in shape with that of the Lhotas. Before it is finally prepared for wearing it consists of a strip of blue or white cloth some four feet long and ten inches wide, with a pattern at one end. This strip is folded from the opposite end (until the pattern is reached) and sewn into a narrow strip, leaving the ornamented end flat to form a flap. In putting it on the narrow portion is tied round the waist with the knot in front. The knot is then twisted round and the portion left hanging down is pulled through the legs from the back and up through the belt in front, so that the ornamented portion forms a flap in front. The pattern of this flap varies greatly, each group of villages tending to have its own. One of the commonest types consists of broad red horizontal stripes on a dark blue ground (*Lunglam langtam* C and M). In another type the whole garment is white, with a pattern in red worked on the flap (*ayaksti* C, *ayaksti* or *khulasti* M). In yet another type representations of cocks and hens or dogs or elephants or whatever may take the owner's fancy are painted with a certain sap on the white flap (*tsungkhotep langtam* C and M). Often the belt, if white, is embroidered with little dots of dark blue. These must be put on by a man, the only kind of needlework an Ao man may do. Men rarely take off their "lengtas" in public and never if women are about, but some of the Eastern villages remove them for fishing.¹ Boys till they are five or six years old wear nothing. They are then given a little "dao" holder and "dao" belt. But from about eight or nine in most villages they wear a "lengta" like a grown up man. In Chuchu Yimlang and one or two other Chongli villages boys, instead of a "lengta," wear till they are fourteen or fifteen a small net bag suspended from a string round the waist. These bags are made of bark fibre and are imported from the Phom country. In the Eastern Chongli villages a boy wears a

¹ So too some of the Eastern Angamis will strip to enter water, if there are no women about but the Tengama Angami on no account—
J H H



BOYS OF CHUCI U YI ILANG VFARING NFI BAOS

[To face p 35



BOYS OF MERANGKONG FARING SUNARI

blue cloth (*sūnari*) tied round his waist in such a way that the two ends hang down in front. These cloths are specially made for the purpose and consist of two widths of cloth instead of three, the number always sewn together for a body cloth. Later this waist cloth is tied in a slightly different way and is called *sepoknangri*. This is finally discarded for a "lengta" when the boy is seventeen or eighteen.

Every man wears a body cloth measuring about four feet six inches long by three feet six inches deep, and the patterns of these are numerous and often striking. They proclaim a man's wealth and prowess, some indicate that the wearer or his father or both have done the mithan sacrifice, others that the owner has been successful in war, others again tell of the killing of both men and mithan. The variations in pattern from village to village increase the intricacy of the matter, and the fact that the same name is often used for different cloths, and the same cloth often called by different names in different villages, makes confusion worse confounded. I give a list of the common cloths under the names by which they are generally known. I will deal first with the cloths which are purely indicative of wealth and have nothing to do with war.¹

Rongsusū (C) is the most decorative Ao cloth and the most difficult to earn, for it can only be worn by a man whose grandfather and father have both done the mithan sacrifice and who has done it himself, not an easy record to achieve in a land where the ups and downs of wealth are frequent, and many a man dies before he can complete his series of feasts of merit. The cloth is confined to the Chongli villages of Akhoia, Chantongia, Yongyimsen and Merangklong. The pattern consists of alternate narrow bands of dark blue and red, with an occasional light blue line. All over it are thick long bunches of dog's wool dyed red, and it is edged at the ends with black and red goat's hair tassels, each tassel being ornamented with cowries.

Aosū or *aomelepsū* (C) is identical with the *rongsusū* except

¹ I have only dealt with the Chongli and Mongsen cloths. Those of the Changki group are identical with the Mongsen.—J. P. M.

that it lacks the goat's hair fringes. It can be worn by a Chongli man who has done the mithan sacrifice more than once himself and by his son and daughter and son's son. Among the Mongsen, who call it *Aouasü* or *aowamelepsü*, it is only worn by women.

Tapensasü or *warusü* (C) *turanamsü* or *warusü* (M), is the first of a well defined series of three cloths in which the *motif* is light blue bands ornamented in red on a red cloth. In this cloth the bands are broad, and it can be worn by a man who has both done the mithan sacrifice, and is the son of a man who has done it. In some villages a loop hole is left for the *nouveau riche*, who may wear it if he has done the mithan sacrifice himself at least five times, even if his father never sacrificed anything more expensive than a pig.

Takarlapisu (C) has narrow blue bands and can be worn by any man who has done the mithan sacrifice himself, whatever the status of his father may have been, while men of the Pongen and Yimsungr clans of the Pongen phratry are entitled to wear it without having done the mithan sacrifice. The Mongsen do not wear it.

Shipensü called in many villages *aomelepsu* and by the Mongsen *aowamelepsu*, resembles the last cloth, but has still narrower blue bands. It can be worn by a man whether he has sacrificed mithan or not himself, provided his father or brother has done so.

Yongmuremsu (C and M) is a red cloth with narrow dark blue lines and can be worn by a man who has sacrificed mithan and whose father has done so before him. It is in use in some villages of the Changlikong.

Yangnangsü (M) has a pattern consisting of rather narrow alternate bands of red and dark blue, some of the dark blue bands having narrow light bands in the centre. In the Mongsen villages of the Changlikong where it is worn its significance is exactly that of the *shipensü* described above.

The cloths so far described all indicate the wealth either of the wearer or of his family. Those to be mentioned now proclaim, or rather used to proclaim, the prowess in war of their owner. For the sake of clearness I have spoken as if

head-taking were still flourishing, but it must be remembered that in truth a moderate payment to the village elders is generally speaking all that is now required to enable a man to put on the insignia of a warrior.

Tsungkotepsu or *mangkotepsu* (C); *tsungkotep* (M). This is possibly the commonest of all the ornamented Ao cloths and is dark blue with five broad red bands close together at the top and bottom, six narrow red bands in the middle of the cloth and a white median band painted with a pattern in black which includes circles representing heads.¹ Men of two Mongsen clans, Muhr and Mongsentsungr, are forbidden to wear this cloth.² In 1920 a Longchang man named Yimtimiren of the Mongsentsungr clan was given one by Temsumangyang of Lungkam. Yimtimiren wore the cloth and died within a year. Needless to say his death was attributed to his breach of custom. The wearing of this cloth indicates that the owner has taken a head. If, as is very often the case, there are mithan as well as human heads on the median band the world knows that the wearer has also done the mithan sacrifice. In a less common form the cloth is red with a few very narrow black bands, and the white medium band.

Suvangsü (C), *chuchusibang* (M). This cloth is most commonly seen on the Langbangkong. The Chongli custom is that it may be worn by a man of the Chami phratry who has done the head-taking ceremony once, and that not necessarily with more than a share of a head. But for a man of the Pongen or Lungkam phratries to become entitled to it he must do the ceremony with a whole head taken with his own hands. Among the Mongsen it can only be worn by men of the Mulir clan, who can do so whether they have taken heads or not. The cloth itself is red, with very narrow dark blue bands and a broad white median band embroidered with large red lozenges. Sometimes blue bands, like those on the *tapensasü*, indicate that the wearer has not only taken heads, but done the mithan sacrifice as well.

¹ See p. 94 *infra*

² This cloth is the *rukhsu* of the Northern Lhotas, cf. *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 10, and the illustration facing that page—J. P. M.

Ayalsu (M) is a dark blue cloth with red bands and a broad light blue median band. It is only worn in a few Mongsens villages on the Changkikong and indicates that the owner has taken heads. Some villagers call it *yang-nangsibang* and confine its use to men who have both sacrificed mithan and taken heads.

Kizesu (C), *akwusu* (M) ("tiger cloth") is a plain red cloth with numerous rather narrow dark blue bands. It is regarded as an old man's cloth. In some villages at least the jabbing of an enemy's corpse is required as a qualification, while in other villages any old man can wear it.

Kizesu (C), *ongtongsu* (M). This is an entirely different cloth of which the pattern is a fine check of white and dark blue. In fact the cloth looks rather like a huge duster. The doing of the head-taking ceremony with part of a head brought back by a friend entitles a Chongli man to wear it, while even this deed of vicarious valour is not required from a Mongsens man, who needs no qualifications to enable him to sport it.

Angnensu (C). This is exactly the same cloth as that called by the Mongsens *yangnangsü*—indeed the two names are obviously different forms of the same word. But the Chongli class it among the warriors' cloths and restrict its use to old men who have taken heads.

Zäporisu (C), *zäbasu* (M) is the name given to any of the above warriors' cloths when ornamented with big circles of cowries. Such a cloth can only be worn by a man who has burnt the whole or part of an enemy's village, and, unlike most insignia of valour, the right to wear it cannot be bought from the village elders. The daughter of such a man may wear circles of cowries on her cloth on dance days.

For rough wear the Ao does not usually sport the rather gorgeous cloths which have been described above. He generally wears either a plain white cloth (*säbusu* C and M), or a plain blue cloth (*sänausu* C and M), usually the latter. The cloth called *sänausu* is woven from dark blue thread, but when a white cloth gets dirty it is often dipped in dark blue dye, when it is called *säbüsürem* (C and M). Longmisa

are very fond of wearing cloths dipped in this way, but they do the dipping very badly, so that the cloth is all blotchy and looks as if a bottle of blue ink had been spilt on it. They, however, admire this effect enormously, and much prefer their cloths to those of any other village.

The Ao woman's skirt (*sübeti* C, *antu* or *sitsukam* M) consists of a piece of cloth a yard to a yard and a half long, and twenty to thirty inches deep, wrapped round the waist, with the top outer corner tucked in just in front of the left hip. It is dark blue ornamented with red, usually in bands. These bands may be solid red bands forming one piece with the rest of the cloth, or they may be bands of red embroidery of various widths. It is perfectly impossible to describe all the varieties of skirt. To begin with they vary from village to village. Then again within the village they vary with the phratry or group of clans to which the wearer belongs. For instance among the Chongh Aos women of the Chamü phratry are allowed less red on their skirts than women of the other two phratries. Yet again within each phratry or group of clans in each village the daughter of a man who has done the mithan sacrifice wears a different pattern on her skirt, and one more elaborate, than does the daughter of a poor man, and the skirt of the wife of a man who has done the mithan sacrifice is more heavily ornamented than that of a poor man's wife, the extra ornamentation on the skirt of a rich man's wife differing in detail from that on the skirt of a rich man's daughter. It is to be noted, too, that even though she marry a poor man, a rich man's daughter does not lose her right to the particular pattern which her father's wealth gained for her. Still another pattern may be worn by the daughter of a man who has signalized his wealth by adopting a whole "morung"¹. All these patterns indicative of wealth vary, be it not forgotten, according to the phratry or group of clans to which the wearer belongs. Their number can therefore be well imagined. But they are definitely fixed and custom enjoins that they should be strictly adhered to. Woe betide the woman who sports a

¹ Bachelors house. See p. 73 *infra* — J P M

skirt to which she has no right Her fate is harder than that of the housemaid who wears her mistress's silk stockings I remember one day the female society of Sangratsu was shaken to its foundations because a woman put on a skirt which was held to be a colourable imitation of one to which she was not entitled To my lot that day fell the difficult task of judge in a dress display

A little girl's first garment is simply a cotton string¹ (*pezu C ayei M*) round her waist At about five years old she is given her first skirt which is white in some villages and dark blue in others It is ornamented with red embroidery, and here again the pattern often varies according to the birth and wealth of her father

A woman's body cloth is usually white or dark blue and until she has borne her first child it is generally worn bound tightly round the body under the armpits For until she is a mother a woman may not expose her breasts² Only at festivals and dances are the more showy body cloths worn On such occasions the *aomelepsi* with its tufts of red dogs hair may be worn by a rich man's daughter More usually, however the wives and daughters of rich men wear cloths with a very pretty red and dark blue pattern³ Status and locality give rise to slight variations, but they are all of the same general type

The only other woman's garment to be mentioned is the puttees (*tsongtem C and M*) which are sometimes worn The Chongli wear dark blue or white while those of the Mongsen are dark blue, or white with a very narrow red stripe Many old women always wear a pair for warmth but at dances young and old alike often wear them as part of their full dress⁴

¹ The string which is of mixed dark blue and red thread is supposed to keep off evil influences A girl often continues to wear a dark blue string round her waist under her skirt for several years.—J P M

² Cf Reed *Negritos of Zambales* p 37 Evans *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo* p 91 (of the Dusun of Tempasuk) Lewin *Wild Races of South Eastern India* p 192 (of the Toungha of the Chittagong Hill Tracts).—J H H

³ These cloths correspond to and closely resemble the *charakel* of the Northern Lhotas (cf *The Lhotas Nagas* p 11).—J I M

⁴ Cf Condon, *The Akasie* p 19 who also apparently the Palangs.—J H H

In wet weather men wear slung over their backs rain shields (*mutongshichi* C, *mutongphuja* M) made of thatching palm or pandanus leaves laid between two layers of light basket work. The pandanus leaves are plucked and dried, and are then boiled and sewn edge to edge with cane. Women wear huge Shan hats, after the fashion of Assamese women as indeed their name *tsūmarshichi* (C), *tsūmarphuja* (M) ("foreigners' rain shield") implies.¹ In the old days their use was restricted to rich women, poorer women presumably just getting wet. Even now one is invariably hung up on a rich woman's corpse platform. If the deceased did not happen to possess one, one is made for the purpose.

Ornaments

The right to wear the ordinary ornaments of a warrior—boar's tushes, gauntlets, baldric and so on—can be bought by a small payment to the village elders.² This system has at least the advantage of preserving an exceedingly picturesque dress from extinction in the days of the *pax Britannica*, and is no more ignoble, after all, than the custom obtaining in other Naga tribes by which a man can gain the right to wear a warrior's ornaments by touching with his spear a little bit of scalp brought to the village by someone else. Nor is it altogether an innovation. In the old days a poor man who was fortunate enough to take a head would often sell it and all his rights in it to a rich man, arguing, very truly, that glory does not fill the stomach. The purchaser, after the usual ceremony and feast to the elders, was regarded as the taker of the head. To this day among the independent Konyaks, when the time comes for an Ang's³ son to have pricked on his face the tattoo which only a warrior may display, it is a common practice for a party to go out and get a head in the boy's name and give

¹ This Shan hat goes as far West as the Mundas of Chota Nagpur (see S. C. Roy *The Mundas* p. 397)—another item of Tai or Mon-khmer culture perhaps.—J. H. H.

² There are signs of a growing tendency to restrict the wearing of such ornaments to men who have served on some Government expedition.—J. P. M.

³ The Ang is the secular and religious head of a Konyak village.—J. P. M.

it to him Whenever, therefore, any ornament is described below as being worn by a man who has taken a head it must be understood that nowadays it can be worn by anyone who has bought the right to do so

Of the ornaments unconnected with war some can be worn by anyone who has given the necessary feasts of merit, while others are restricted to certain phratrics and clans These hereditary privileges are most jealously guarded and any attempt to usurp them meets with violent opposition The Chongli tell the following story of how these rights were finally confirmed From the very beginning the Pongen, as senior phratry, had most rights Then came the Lungkam, and lastly the Chami, who had no rights to speak of The Chami were out of the running altogether, but when the Aos were settled at Kurotang a fierce rivalry arose between the Pongen and Lungkam phratrics The protagonists on either side were Rosangba, of the Yimsungr clan of the Pongen phratry, and Mangyangba of the Lungkam phratry and clan The former was as ugly as a monkey and had little knowledge of the world and its ways, while the latter was very handsome and a great traveller, with hosts of friends everywhere Mangyangba therefore determined to try to deprive Rosangba of his right to wear certain ornaments, and in pursuance of this plan persuaded him to come down to the plains in order that they might lay their case before the *Chuba*,¹ as the Aos called the Raja of Assam, hoping of course that his superior wit would gain him the decision The Raja agreed to hear the case, and put the two to a series of tests First he made them sit on a log of "nahor" wood Mangyangba chose the top end, and Rosangba sat at the bottom end Then a fine cock and an egg were brought, and each was told to chose which he would have Before Rosangba could open his mouth Mangyangba seized the cock and left the egg for his rival Next the Raja had a bag of earth and a bag of salt laid before them, and, again without giving Rosangba a chance, Mangyangba took the bag of

¹ *Chuba* or *Choba*, the Ao word for "king" is obviously identical with the Manipuri *Chaoba* = "prince" Abom *Chao pha* = "king" or "god," and the Shan title *Tsau bwa* — J H H

salt Lastly they were asked to choose between two drinking cups, one of beautiful red clay and the other one of dull metal Mangyangba chose the beautiful one and Rosangba had perforce to take the ugly The Raja next told them to throw their cups on the ground, when Mangyangba's showy vessel broke, but Rosangba's metal cup did not Then the Raja gave judgment as follows "Mangyangba chose the top of the tree, but Rosangba sat at the root, from which all trees grow Mangyangba chose the cock, but Rosangba took the egg, from which all fowls are hatched Mangyangba chose the salt, but Rosangba took the earth, from which all salt is washed Mangyangba took the showy cup, but Rosangba took the one which would not break Therefore in everything has Rosangba made the better choice, and he and his children and his childrens' children shall be greater than Mangyangba and his descendants for ever" Having thus spoken the Raja divided up the ornaments in dispute Both he allowed to wear ivory armlets on both arms, but the spiked metal armlets called *merangkhang*, and the grooved metal armlets called *kurangkhang* he gave to Rosangba To him too he gave the right to wear a certain trumpet shaped brass ear ornament (*khuru*) To the women of both phratries he gave the right to wear heavily embroidered skirts and to adorn their heads with brass rings (*yongmen*) When all this was over the Raja hung up a bell (*tsongtsong*), and said that whichever could kick it could have the right of wearing it. Neither could kick so high, but Mangyangba dishonestly jumped up and pulled it down with his hand That is why such bells are sometimes called *mangyangtsongtsong*¹ As neither could win it outright permission was given to any man of any phratry to wear it who had performed the necessary deeds of valour

Generally speaking each Mongsen phratry claims the rights of the corresponding Chongli phratry, while the Changki group have rules of their own, and tell a story, closely parallel to the Chongli tradition, of a judgment by

¹ This derivation which was given me by the teller of the story, is probably quite incorrect *Mangyang* means "a head taken in exchange," and the bell is so called because it can only be worn by a man who has secured this trophy—J P M

the Raja between a Lungchhari man on the one side and an Amri and a Changkiri man on the other, as a result of which the Lungchhari man, having always made the better choice, received the greater share of ornaments.

Taking men's ornaments in some detail first, the true Ao hat is a sort of skull-cap of bear skin (*muhtam khurong* or *shim khurong* C; *iremhap khurong* M), often ornamented with pairs of small boar's tushes arranged to form circles. It is worn by elderly men who have taken heads. On the Langbangkong hats from across the frontier are often seen. One type is a tall conical hat of fine red plated cane with a pattern in yellow orchid stalk worked into it. It is worn by men of wealth and called *armiram khurong* (C and M). The Aos obtain these hats from the Changs, who in turn get them from the makers, the Kalyo-Kengyu. Another type of hat (*tamen khurong* C; *ungrkentempong khurong*¹ M), crested with red goat's hair and striped with red cane and yellow orchid stalk, comes from the Phom country and may be worn by warriors.² Wigs (*khurong* C and M) made of black goat's hair on a bamboo frame are sometimes worn by old men to conceal their grey locks. Like other tribes, the Aos wear broad circlets of bear's hair (*tamkhu* C; *tanlhu* M) with their full dancing dress. These are made of the long hair from the neck and shoulders of the black Himalayan bear³ very neatly bound on to a piece of cane which

¹ *Ungrkentempong* = hoopoe — J. P. M.

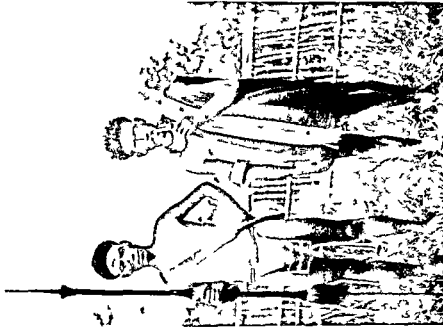
² A similar if not identical hat is figured by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy opposite p. 177 of his *Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, as a *topor* used by the Oraons. He tells me in a letter, however, that this particular specimen was collected by a Belgian missionary and sent to a museum at Brussels. One cannot help wondering whether it did not after all emanate from the Naga Hills and reach Ranchi via one of the Belgian missions in Assam. Another possibility is that it may have been sent or brought to his home by some Assam Tea Garden coolie recruited in Chota Nagpur. If the hat figured is a genuine Oraon article it is a remarkable thing that it should be so close to the Naga hats in type, though there are other features which the Oraons share with the Nagas, such as the Bachelors' Dormitory and the practice of stealing water from the well of another village. My own view is that it is a Naga and not an Oraon hat at all — J. H. H.

³ In the old days, when guns were scarcer and bears harder to get, these circlets were often made of pig's bristles. The bristles were plucked from the living pig, which was then let go to run about and grow another crop — J. P. M.

They are still made of pig's bristles by the Yimtsungtr and Sangtams — J. H. H.



OLD MAN OF SANGRATSU VILLA 1 WEARING ORNAMENTED
CONICAL HAT



TWO MEN OF LONGSA VILLAGE THE ONE TO THE LEFT
WITH ROUNDED SPAN AND THE ONE TO THE RIGHT

is bent into a circle. The two ends of the cane frame are joined by a string at the back of the head so that the circumference can be adjusted to fit the wearer. Into the frame are fixed thin upright pieces of bamboo, which are pushed up the shafts of the hornbill feathers (*wozumhi* C; *wayamhi* M) worn with these circlets. The fit must be a loose one so that the feathers will turn their edges readily to the wind; otherwise they would be blown to pieces. The feathers used are the tail feathers of the Great Indian Hornbill (*Dichoceros bicornis*), and the edge of the black band which runs across the tail feathers of this bird must be clean cut. The little streaks of black which are sometimes seen running into the white are supposed to represent the foul liquids of corruption which drip from a drying corpse, and were a man to wear a feather marked in this way he would surely die. The feathers are very cleverly treated before being worn. A feather is rubbed with the oil-gland which is found under the tail of the hornbill, and the web is then carefully stretched and worked till the breadth of the feather is considerably increased with very little loss of length.¹ The old custom was that a man was entitled to wear two hornbill feathers for each occasion on which he got first spear into an enemy,² one for each successful raid in which he took part, and one for each time he did the mithan sacrifice. Nowadays he can wear three as soon as he has bought the right to wear a warrior's ornaments, and can add one for each mithan sacrifice he performs, and one for each Government expedition in which he takes part.

The ear of an Ao man is pierced in three places—the lobe, the concha and the top of the fossa of the antihelix. The piercing of the lobe is part of the birth ceremonies,

¹ The Angami works the feather so as to give it a rounded end and a sort of beak at one side near the top, making it deliberately asymmetrical.—J. H. H.

² Cf. *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 29, 32, 191, 392; Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, pp. 13, 109; Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo* (in this case Dyaks, Kayans and Klemantans), I. 162, 163; II. 59; I. fig. 26 and plates 29, 93, 94, 95 and 101. I understand from a private letter from a Mr. Mason that the Maoris of New Zealand also affect a hornbill feather for warriors. Skeat and Blagden (*Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, II. p. 11) report the use of the hornbill feather for magic of some sort by the Sakai. Cf. also Hose and McDougall, *op. cit.* II. p. 298.—J. H. H.

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regard to it being identical with those of the Malir clan in the Mongsen group. The custom of wearing through the lobe of the ear a domestic boar's tush (*arizang naru* C, *saba naru* M) has almost died out except at Yacham. Dr Clark under this word in his dictionary¹ definitely describes the tush as circular. These circular tushes are never seen nowadays, and careful enquiries on my part have failed to produce any evidence as to whether they were specially grown by extracting a tooth from the upper jaw of the pig a custom which obtains in other parts of the world. The ones worn now are simply small tushes pushed through the hole in the lobe of the ear. They are the mark of a warrior,² and the former custom was that any man who killed a big boar gave its tushes to his son in law to be worn either as *arizang naru* or on his hat. At dances long plumes (*yimiachi naru* C, *oyimki naru* M) of drongo tail feathers and scarlet minivet feathers are worn in the lobe of the ear by men who have taken heads. They may also be worn by the daughters of men who have done the muthan sacrifice and in this case red chillies stuck on the end of thin bamboo stalks are often added to the feathers. Chillies may not be worn in this way by men. Old men sometimes wear spirals of brass wire (*kāri naru* or *mākellung* C, *yinlung naru* M) hooked through the lobe of the ear.

A word is necessary on children's ear ornaments. As soon as the hole in the lobe of the ear is healed all Chongli children and the children of poor Mongsen parents wear a pair of little ornaments of red dog's hair and small black feathers from the nape of the Malayan Wreathed Hornbill (*Rhytidoceros undulatus*) a boy getting six strings of dog's hair and six feathers and a girl five of each. This bird is chosen because its body is entirely dark and its tail all pure white, so that the child will be wholly good, and not a mixture of good and bad. After a boy has worn this ornament for six days and a girl for five it is thrown away. The Chongli call it *uozū naru* or *narungpen* and the Mongsen *waya naru*. When about three months old all Chongli boys and

¹ Rev E W Clark M.A. D.D. *Ao Naga Dictionary*—J. P. M.

² Cf. Hutton *The Angami Nagas* p. 29—J. H. H.

the sons of rich Mongsen parents wear in the lobes of their ears tufts of red goat's hair with a little bead hanging down at the end of a string (*rongpen naru* C; *rongchang naru* M). This is often worn till a boy becomes a member of the "morung."

The son of rich parents when he is about seven or eight years old often puts on a thick plain brass necklet (*lhangshiri* or *yongmenchang* C; *lhangshir* M). This he discards as soon as he has bought the right to wear a boar's tush necklet (*shipu* C, *saba* M). Nearly everyone wears a necklet of one pair of tushes, and very many a necklet of two, the latter involving a rather higher payment to the elders. The only people who wear three pairs are survivors of the good old days who won the right by getting a notable number of heads¹. Any man with any pretence to social position wears a necklace of long conchshell beads (*lalap molung* or *sherit yok* C; *sarat lik* M). These are made from the inner part of the conchshell and are bought from Angami traders.² The names *sherit yok* and *sarat lik* mean "bone beads" and point to an old type of bead no longer to be found in the Ao country, though bone beads still survive among the Konyaks. If a man has done the mithan sacrifice once he and his sons and his brothers' sons may wear one string of these beads, which is increased to two if he does the sacrifice twice. "Brothers" is a wide term among the Aos, and there are consequently few men who cannot claim the right to wear these ornaments. The same conditions govern the wearing of another type of necklace (*mesem-yok* C; *mechemtsu lik* M), which may be described as several short graduated rows of small cornelian beads lying across the breast, and kept in place by bone spacers suspended from a double string of conchshell beads round the neck. This necklace is an excellent example of the spread of fashions in the Naga hills, for it is acknowledged to be a copy of a necklace worn by an Angami woman who lived

¹ Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 11; *The Angami Nagas*, p. 24; Muls, *The Lhoka Nagas*, p. 12; Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, p. 185—J. H. H.

² Beads of precisely this pattern made from the columella of the conch shell have recently been found in prehistoric graves in South India together with other ornaments of conch familiar in the Naga Hills. There were stone circles in proximity to the graves referred to, vide *J.R.A.S.* LIV. plate xxxii.—J. H. H.

at Mokokchung some years ago. The curious brown beads known in Naga-Assamese as "deo moni" are but rarely to be seen in the Ao country and, save at Lungkam, where the Sema custom is followed in this respect, are only worn by women. In Chongli they are called *reptong techir* ("the mother of *reptong* beads"—a kind of small brown bead), and in Mongsen *puram*. No one knows what they are made of,¹ and the Aos, as in the case of many of their old ornaments, state vaguely that they came from Maibong, the last capital of the Kacharis.

Like the Semas, Lhotas and Angamis, the Aos wear above the elbow large ivory armlets (*khambang* C and M) about 2½ inches broad, consisting of sections cut from a tusk.² Here again the rights of various phratries and clans are strictly defined. In the Chongli group it is the birthright of men of the Pongen and Lungkam phratries to wear ivory armlets on both arms, if they have the wherewithal to buy them. But a Chami man must do the mithan sacrifice if he wish to wear either one or a pair. Formerly he would have had both to have taken a head and to have done the mithan sacrifice before he could put on even one, and only further displays of prowess and wealth would have entitled him to wear two. In the Mongsen group the

¹ Dr. Hanson describes the Kachins as wearing what are apparently "deo moni" and says they are made of petrified wood, cf. *The Kachins; their Customs and Traditions*, by Rev. O. Hanson, Litt D, American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon, p. 48—J. P. M.

A careful examination of one of these beads was made by Mr. Piddington, Curator of the Museum of Economic Geology, and reported in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for July 1847. He says that they "appear at first sight like sections of the jasperized stems of gramineous plants or small pithy wood," but as a result of his analytic tests, which are reported in full, he concludes that these beads are made of an enamel coloured with oxide of copper, and suggests that they emanate from China.

The few that still find their way into the Naga Hills are imported from Nepal. It is stated that they are always found ready bored and, by some, that they are dug up from graves—J. H. H.

² This ornament is worn by all Nagas, though some wear it broad, some, as the Naked Rengmas, narrow, some concave, as the Konyaks, and some quite smooth, as the Phoms and Changs. The prevailing custom in the administered area is to have two engraved lines running round the centre of the armlet on the outer surface.

The peoples of Borneo and of the Pacific make an almost identical ornament from the *Tridacna* and other shells—vide Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, I, 46, and the illustrations *passim*. Also Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 234—J. H. H.

matter is more complicated. The Yimchenchar, Achamr, Alapachar, Yungpur, Tsitir, Walingr, Mongsentsungr, Lam-tur, Lungchachar and Kabzar clans have the same birth-right as the clans of the Pongen and Lungkam phratries of the Chongli group. The Aiyir may wear one. A man of the Lungtsuchar clan may put on one if he has done the mithan sacrifice once, and two if he has done it twice. Men of the Mulir, Ochichar, Kichuchar, Anichar and Ningsangchar clans have no right to wear even one, and cannot win the right. But—and this applies to all Ao ornaments which are restricted to certain phratries or clans—a man who is by birth ordinarily debarred from wearing an ivory armlet may wear one presented to him as part of a formal gift of friendship by a man who is entitled to wear this ornament.

As an example of the disputes which sometimes arise over the rights in ornaments the outline may be given of a quarrel which aroused intense feeling and excitement throughout the Ao country. When Dr Hutton, my predecessor, was Subdivisional Officer of Mokocheung, the members of the Aiyir clan in Sangratsu claimed equal rights with the Mongsentsungr clan in the matter of ivory armlets. This claim the Mongsentsungr clan stoutly resisted, and embassies (not empty handed) from both sides toured the Ao country to find men learned in tradition who would support their claim. When the matter came before Dr Hutton he decided that the Aiyir clan were only entitled to wear an ivory armlet on one arm. This settled the matter, but only for a time. Two or three years later one of the many sea lawyers of the village found that by old tradition the Mongsentsungr clan in Sangratsu were only allowed to wear two armlets on condition they refrained from eating beef, and, moreover, that some Mongsentsungr men had partaken of this forbidden food. The Aiyir thereupon announced their intention of taking this birth-right which the Mongsentsungr clan had sold for a mess of pottage, and wearing two armlets instead of one. After both sides had argued themselves hoarse for four days in the village, without, of course, arriving at any settlement, they came to me. Finding that the Mongsentsungr admitted the rather curious connection between beef and ivory

armlets, I said they must choose between the two. They chose the armlets, and the *Aiyir* were still left with only one armlet. But the matter was not dead yet. Recently the *Aiyir* found, to their great delight, that some Christians of the *Mongsentsung* clan in *Sangratsu* had eaten beef. After the usual shouting competition in the village the dispute came before me. The Christians said that they regarded themselves as no longer concerned with clan privileges and disabilities, that their hearts were set on things other than ornaments, that they did not care who wore ivory armlets and who did not, but that they did like beef. Two of them, be it noted, had been protagonists in the former dispute, but had been converted since. These well knew that their action was going to rake up the whole quarrel again, but the desire to "see what will happen" is world wide and strong. It was pointed out to the Christians that they were born members of a certain clan and that membership involved certain rights and duties; if they wished to cut themselves off from the clan they were at liberty to do so, thereby relinquishing their rights and being absolved from their duties. They were further reminded that their rights, such as those in land, were many and valuable, and their irksome duties, such as abstention from beef, few. They decided to remain members of the clan and have so far eaten no more beef. The *Aiyir* accordingly can still only sport one armlet.

But to resume the account of A'o armlets, in the *Changk* group the *Lungchari*, *Metamsungba* and *Ungtsiri* clans may wear by birthright ivory armlets on both arms. A man of the *Alingri* clan may wear one armlet if he has done the mithan sacrifice, but he may never wear more, and men of other clans may never wear ivory armlets at all.¹

The A'o possess a limited number of old and very highly prized armlets of some kind of brass alloy. They are of two types. One (*merangkhang* C, *ayinkhang* M) is ornamented with a single or double row of cones, giving a spiked appearance. The cones, which are hollow and form

¹ Cf. *Leyden Malay Annals* p. 101 — "They were then permitted to assume the ponto, or armlet. These persons are to wear the armlet varying according to their station: some wear it on both sides others only on one side." — J. H. H.

one piece with the armlet, are strengthened by being filled with some sort of very hard wax. The other type (*kura khambang* C, *ayinkhambang* M) is of a grooved pattern. The Aos say that these armlets are of Kachari origin and came from Maibong. The same ornaments exist in the Konyak country. In some of the Eastern Konyak villages they are too precious to be worn, but at dances are hung up outside in some conspicuous place to be admired. Their use among the Aos is restricted to certain phratries and clans. In the Chongli group men of the Pongen and Lungkam phratries may wear them, but they are forbidden to the Cham phratry. In the Mongsen group the only clans entitled to sport them are the Mulur, who may wear the grooved type only, and the Kabzar, who may wear the spiked type only. These antique metal armlets do not appear to exist in any of the villages of the Changli group.¹

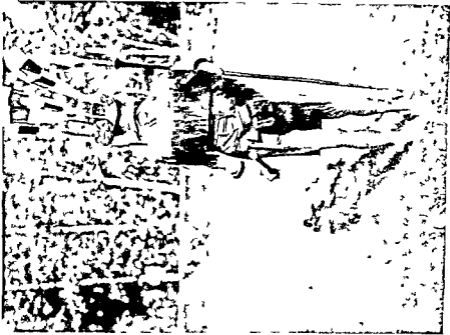
The Ao cowrie gauntlet with red hair fringe (*khap* C and M) is identical with that worn by the Semas,² and, like all ornaments which formerly denoted prowess in war, can be worn nowadays by anyone who makes the necessary payment to the village elders. The same condition applies to what is perhaps the handsomest of all the Ao ornaments—the “enemy’s teeth” (*khaptang* C and M), which is sometimes worn as a breast plate, but usually across the shoulders at the back. The frame is a flat piece of wood some ten inches long, narrow in the middle, and broadening to about five inches at the ends. The top and bottom edges are curved, and along each is a line of cowries representing the teeth.³ The space between the rows of cowries, which is the

¹ Various antique ornaments of a similar bronze composition are to be seen among the Southern Sangtam and Kalyo Kengyu villages. They are often decorated like all Kuki cast work, with spirals and cord patterns and probably emanate from the Hkampti or Singpho country, but one of the grooved Ao and Konyak armlets has a very close parallel in those worn by a carved stone image from the palace of the Kachari kings and now on the platform of Maibong railway station an image which wears a cane belt and a cane hat and little else and bears a long two handled sword—perhaps one of some Noldangr guard of the Kachari Raj.—J. H. H.

² Cf. *The Sema Nagas* p. 12. *Khap* the Ao word is obviously the same as the Sema *khā*—J. H. H.

³ Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 12 and 16 and Mills *The Itho Nagas* p. 14. Enemies’ teeth are actually worn by the Japura and Issa of Ecuador. Wiffen who records it (*The North West Amazon* p. 124) quotes David’s call on God to break the teeth of his foes and suggests it is a reversion to

A MAN OF MOTONGT₂U WEARING A JAPANESE



A CHONGLI HUPADMAN IN LUNA IN FULL DRESS



tongue and palate, is covered with finely plaited red cane and yellow orchid stalk, while a fringe of red goat's hair at the ends and bottom represents the blood streaming from the mouth of the stricken foe. Old men who have taken heads and sacrificed mithan sometimes wear on dance days a Great Indian Hornbill's head on their chests, suspended from a string round their necks.¹ The baldrics (*shubuyi* C; *chukomangya* M) worn nowadays are of the Sema pattern and are generally bought from Seromi ornament makers. In the old Ao type the strip of cloth to which the red hair fringe is attached was ornamented with the usual bold Ao lozenge design in red. A man may wear one or two baldrics according to what he has paid to the elders for his warrior's insignia. A baldric is really nothing more than a glorified string to which the human hair tail is attached, the tail itself being merely a highly decorated "panji"² holder. These tails, which are identical with those worn by the Semas and Lhotas, are of two types. One type (*zāsogu* C; *tsūchoku* M) curves down and out from the basket and is ornamented with a deep fringe of black human hair with a narrow fringe of red goat's hair above it. An excellent series in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, makes it clear, as indeed its name implies, that this type is derived from the

thought to the time when the teeth were man's only weapons. They are still a subsidiary one among Nagas, as among small children who bite their nursemaids. Purchas (*His Pilgrimage*, IX, 1, 3) also mentions the wearing of enemy teeth by S. American Indians. Enemies' teeth are also used by the Italonos of the Philippines to decorate their swords (Sawyer, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines*, p. 268). Enemies' teeth are also actually worn in Melanesia (Markham, *Cruise of the Rosario*, pp. 164 and xvi); and Owen (*Naga Tribes in Communication with Assam*, p. 16) states that they are actually worn by what must be some northern Konyak tribe. The custom does not, I think, exist south of the Taukok River. The Angamis have an ornament of the same type as that of the Aos and likewise called "enemy teeth"—*terhū hu*, but it is worn by young men who have not actually taken a head. When they do they usually discard it for the similar ornament called *thatse*. As, however, the test of a takeable head is whether or not it has cut its teeth, without which it cannot be added to the taker's tally (cf. Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, I, 163), it may probably be inferred that at one time Nagas actually wore the teeth of their slain enemies. The Karens apparently still wear those of their dead relations in order to acquire their courage and strength (Marshall, *The Karen People of Burma*, p. 271)—J. H. H.

¹ Cf. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 14—J. H. H.

² A "panji" is a bamboo spike stuck in the ground where an enemy is likely to tread. Raiders always carried a supply to stick in the ground as they retreated. See p. 201 *infra*—J. P. M.

horn in which "panjis" used to be carried by members of a raiding party. The other type (*sogu* C, *cholu* M) consists of a small conical basket, ornamented with a fringe of red goat's hair, from which falls a long bunch of human hair, the longer and straighter the more admired. Both those tails are reckoned as part of a warrior's full dress. A curious ornament which does not seem to be worn by any other tribe is a bell some four inches high and two inches in diameter (*tsongtsong* C, *changlong* M).¹ Old ones, of which there are very few, are highly prized and, as usual, are thought to have come from the mysterious Maibong. They are cast from what is apparently bell metal, and are covered with a simple raised pattern of lines, crosses and curves. In the old days the right to wear a bell was hard to win and the ceremony of first putting it on is the only instance of formal investiture with which I am acquainted among Nagas. A man had to take a head in exchange for that of one of his own relations who had been killed by a hostile village. The women of his own clan in his village then clubbed together and bought a bell for him. He could not buy this himself, though if the original bell got lost or broken he could replace it with another at his own expense. On the date fixed for the ceremony the women who had subscribed for the bell assembled with their husbands in front of the hero's house. He came out in full dress shouting the tale of his bravery. Then a husband of a woman of his clan, having called on the sun and moon to witness to the truth of his words, made a speech describing the deed for which the bell was being given and tied the coveted decoration on to the recipient's "panji" basket. The evening and night were spent dancing. A man who goes on a Government expedition may nowadays wear the bell on making a fairly stiff payment to the village elders.

The cowrie apron (*wayi* or *suchal* C, *uayi* or *sūphalangtam* M)² is the same as that worn by the Semas, who indeed buy most of theirs from Ungma, where they are made. This too is a mark of wealth and prowess which is easily gained.

¹ See p. 43 *supra* — J. P. M.

² The name given me by Aos for the garment was *Mouya langtam*, which they translated Sema Apron. *vide The Angami Nagas*, p. 371 — J. H. H.

nowadays The right to wear leggings (*tsongla* C, *changla* M) is, however, restricted to men who have not only performed the full series of feasts of merit, but by lavish presents of meat have formally adopted as their "sons" a whole "morung" or even a village¹ Indeed the mithan which forms part of the present is called by the Chongli *tsongla tha* ("leggings price") Mongsen rarely wear these leggings, as they think "adoption" on this wholesale scale brings bad luck The type usually seen is that made in the Kalyo Kengyu country and traded through the Changs They are most beautifully woven of fine plaited strips of undyed cane at the ankle, and from there upwards red cane with a pattern in yellow orchid skin worked into it The rougher and more clumsy Angami cane leggings are some times worn Leggings are only worn at dances, when the costume of a man who has done the mithan sacrifice is sometimes completed by a pair of hollow brass anklets with little balls of lead inside which rattle at each step (*merang-tsongsong* C, *ayinchangla* M) These are bought in the plains, and it is curious that part of the costume of a dancing girl should have been adopted by Ao men

Unlike her Western sister, the Ao woman does not possess as many ornaments as her husband, and they can be more briefly described Conspicuous among them are brass rings (*yongmen* C and M), about the size of large curtain rings, which are worn one on each side of the head They pass through holes at the top of the fossa of the anti helix and are held in place by a string joining them and passing over the top of the head² The necessary hole in the ear is bored at the time when a girl is first tattooed, the operation being performed either with a sharp piece of bamboo or a red hot iron, usually by a male, but occasionally by a female, relation or friend Girls who are not entitled to wear *yongmen* do not have the fossa of the anti helix pierced, for, like so many of the men's ornaments, these rings are restricted to certain phratries and clans In the Chongli group all women of the Pongen and Lungkam phratries

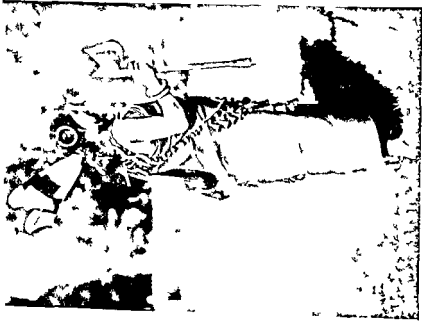
¹ See p 191 *infra* —J P M

² A single brass ring of rather larger diameter is worn in many Eastern Angami villages (*The Angami Nagas*, p 27 and 41) —J H H

save those belonging to the Lamtur clan of the Lunglam phratry may wear them but they are strictly forbidden to all women of the Cham phratry except those of the Yatenr clan. In the Mongsen group all women are entitled to them except those of the Lungtsuchar clan. In the Changki group where they are known as *ingpen* they are restricted to the Lungchari Ungtsiri and Metamsangba clans. The reason why the Yatenr clan alone of the Cham phratry of the Chongli group may wear *yongmen* is as follows. When the Aos lived at Chongliyimti there were two great friends Tsitiyung of the Yatenr clan and Tsangpi of the Wozukamr clan. Tsangpi was very good looking and all the other young bucks of the village were jealous of him. So one day when all the young men of the village went down to the river to fish they determined to get rid of their rival and straight way pushed him into a basket of fish poison and pounded him up. The only piece of him which his friend Tsitiyung could find was a little toe nail. Thus he wrapped in a corner of his cloth. Now Lungkhungla the mother of Pontang¹ the great grandfather of Tsangpi was still alive. And she sat by the path outside the village to greet her great great grandson when he should come back with the others from the fishing. She waited and waited while the others streamed past her but no Tsangpi came and each man she asked afraid to confess the murder said that he was behind. At last came Tsitiyung and when she asked him the same question he showed her with tears the little toe nail.² Then because he alone had loved Tsangpi she gave him a pair of *yongmen* and an embroidered shirt and these the women of the Yatenr clan have been allowed to wear ever since as if they belonged to the Pongen or Lungkam phratries. The Yatenr clan is confined to Merangkong and it is interesting to note as an example of the fundamental importance which the Ao attaches to rights in dress that because the Yatenr clan can wear the embroidered skirt and *yongmen* which are the perquisites of the Pongen and Lunglam phratries

¹ See p. 14 s. pra — J. P. M.

² For the parallel Lhota story see pp. 193-194 of *The Lhota Nagas* — J. P. M.



CHONGLI O'IAN F' UN MA IN FULL DANCE DRESS
CARRYIN A VEIL IN A



CHONGLI BOY OF UN A T'ABING KI'ANGSHIRI AND
CONCI H'ELL HEADS

they are now tending either to forget or ignore the story of how they won the right, and on the ground that they cannot, if they wear these things, really be members of the Chami phratry are beginning to intermarry with that phratry.

For dances the wives and daughters of rich men twine a brass chain (*yongmen semyi* C; *yongmen rü* M) in their hair and wear two criss-cross across the body, one over either shoulder. To those on the body bells are sometimes attached, similar to but smaller than those worn by a warrior on his "panji" basket. A woman may wear on her head one hornbill feather for every mithan her husband has sacrificed and one for every mithan her father has sacrificed in her name before she was married. A small piece of plantain stem is bound very tightly into the hair and the feathers are stuck into that. The most popular and characteristic ear ornament which almost every Ao woman wears is that known as *tongbang* (C and M). The old ones are of cut and polished crystal and are called *Maibong naru*, after their supposed place of origin. A good pair of old ones will fetch ninety to a hundred rupees and most of the ones now worn are glass imitations, bought from Angami traders. A *tongbang* measures about 2 inches by 1½ inches, and is about half an inch thick, with square corners.¹ There is a round hole in the middle, joined to the edge by a slit to admit the edge of the ear. The hole in the lobe of the ear, which is bored at infancy, is gradually enlarged with cotton wool and wooden plugs till it is big enough to take the *tongbang*, which is worn with the slit downwards. This means that the hole in the ear has to be large enough to take half the width of the *tongbang*, and the weight of the ornament stretches the edge of the lobe to such an extent that it often tears through. Should this happen the torn ends are cemented together as quickly as possible with the yolk of an egg and kept in place with a binding of thread. Perfect

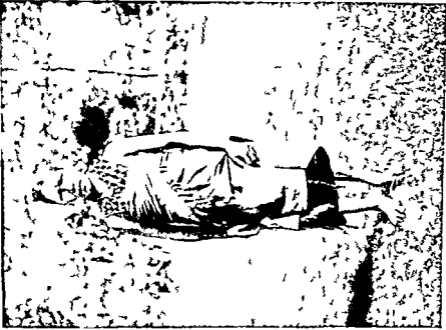
¹ Those worn in Longsa are circular —J. P. M.

Similar crystal ear rings are worn by some of the Sangtams and by many Tangkhuls, who get glass imitations from Burma; those that I have seen have all resembled the rounded form of the Ao ornament, which is something similar in shape to the simplest of the metal ear ornaments of the Igorot figured by Jenks (*The Bontoc Igorot*, p 185) —J. H. H.

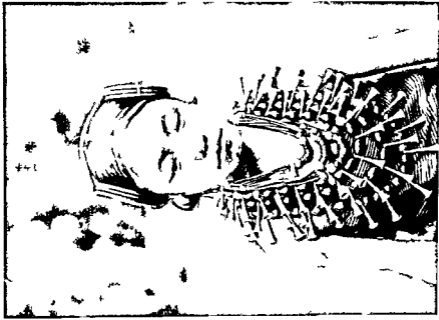
cures are said to be common. Indeed I have been told of a case where a severed finger, which was replaced at once and yolk of egg applied, became reunited with the stump, though the power of moving it was, of course, never regained. *Tongbang* are not ordinarily removed at night. It must be very uncomfortable sleeping with a piece of crystal the size of a small match box between one's neck and a wooden pillow, but they seem to get quite used to it. In the old days a long tuft of hair (*Lunaru C*, *Louanaru M*) was sometimes worn in the lobe of the ear. It was hair from the head of a woman of a hostile village, and was given to one of his sisters by the man who took the head.¹ Heavy brass bracelets (*Lisen C*, *Lichen M*) are worn. The wife or daughter of a man who has done the mithan sacrifice may have hers ornamented with a simple pattern of incised lines. An Ao woman invariably, except when she bathes, wears at least one string of beads, night and day. It is only from a corpse that all beads are removed and it is naturally unlucky for the living to imitate the dead in any way. Usually she wears all she has, and even when going to the fields to work women often wear three or four long heavy strings of cornelian beads. These beads, which are bought in the plains, form part of all Ao women's necklaces, of which there are several varieties. Plain strings of cornelian beads are called *mesemyok (C)* or *mechemtsi (M)*. A type of necklace particularly popular in the Eastern villages is called *lakapmichi (C)* or *lakapwanglam (M)* and consists of, as it were spikes of conch shell with cornelian beads between each spike. In another necklace (*mechongchangshi C* and *M*) which is fashionable in the Western villages, the conch shell spikes are replaced by trumpet shaped lead² alloy ornaments of foreign manufacture. All these necklaces can be worn by anyone whose father or husband can buy them for her or who has inherited or bought them herself but one kind (*yiptongwangkam C*, *yiptong lal M*), consisting of brownish beads is restricted to the daughters and wives of men who have done the mithan sacrifice.

¹ Cf. the Sema custom of giving such a lock to a brother to put in his ear (*The Sema Nagas* p. 177). —J. H. H.

² There is a tendency nowadays for the wives of rich men to wear silver instead of lead alloy ornaments. —J. P. M.



A YOUNG CHONGLI WOMAN OF UNGMA



A YOUNG CHONGLI WOMAN OF CHUGUO YIMLANG WEARING
MECHONGCHANGSHI NECKLACES AND LONGMIN

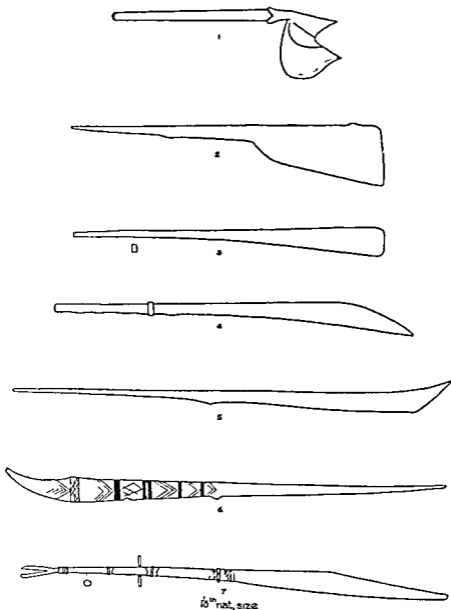
Weapons

The armoury of the Ao is as simple as that of his neighbours. His chief weapons of offence are the "dao" (*nok* C, *anol* M) and spear (*nā* C, *amī* M). Crossbows (*lashang* C, *lichak* M) are almost obsolete, and always seem to have been used more for hunting than for war, partly, no doubt, because a man could not hold his shield and shoot with his bow at the same time, and so would have to leave himself exposed while he was putting an arrow to his bow and aiming, and partly because the usual Naga engagement is an ambush at close quarters in thick jungle, where a spear is the more effective weapon of the two. The "dao" is the indispensable companion of an Ao throughout his life. With it he fells trees, clears light jungle, cuts house posts and carves them, pares down cane for lashings, makes bamboo slips for tying, kills chickens for food, divides up meat, digs a thorn out of his foot, and does a hundred and one different things. With it too he used to cut off the heads of his enemies for there is no distinction between a war "dao" and a "dao" for everyday use. The blade is about nine inches long and five inches broad at the top. The back curves in very slightly and makes practically a right angle with the top, which is straight. The blade is only about an inch broad at the bottom, so that in shape it may be said to resemble a right angled triangle with the longest side forming the edge, which has a slight outward curve and is ground on one side only, so that a perpendicular stake can only be cut with a downward blow from the right or an upward blow from the left. The blade ends in a long iron tang, which is firmly bound with cane into a bamboo haft some sixteen inches long. Often, especially in the Eastern villages, the haft is coated with lac, which is melted and smeared on with a hot iron. A warrior may have the top of his haft decorated with a tuft of red goat's hair. The "dao" is carried edge to the left in a wooden holder (*noklaptsi* C, *noklū* M) which consists of a block of wood with a slit in it long enough to take the blade of the "dao" and narrow enough to prevent the haft slipping through. These holders vary much in size and pattern. In some villages

a man who has taken heads may have representations of his trophies carved on his holder. In other villages the pattern is a simple one of incised lines. This holder is threaded on a belt consisting of many white cotton strings, which is tied loosely round the waist so that the holder lies just below the small of the back, and arranged so that the long ends hang down the thigh. These belts are made for young bucks by their lady-loves, and for married men usually, but not always, I am afraid, by their wives. A little boy gets his either from his mother or from some small girl to whom he has sworn to be true for ever. New belts are always worn for the *Moatsü* festival and the dances at the mithan sacrifice. The leader of a dance occasionally carries an axe-shaped iron "dao" (*milemnok* C; *merang-pongnoh* M) of an almost obsolete Kalyo-Kengyu type.¹ These are very highly prized if the top of the blade is so scooped out that the top corner of the edge and the top corner of the back stand out like two horns.² Representations of "daos" of this shape are often painted on the houses of rich men. "Daos" with a straight or only slightly scooped-out top edge, such as are commonly in use in the Kalyo-Kengyu and Southern Sangtam country, are regarded as valueless. Besides these "daos," examples of which are still to be seen from time to time, there are kept in the houses of a few rich men ancient long "daos" (*noklang* C and M), of unknown origin, which are handed down as heirlooms. These may be divided into three types, all alike having very long tangs which must have passed right through the haft, so that the "dao" could be stuck upright in the ground. Indeed it is in this way that they are displayed at mithan sacrifices, the only time, apparently, when they are brought out of the house. The commonest type has a big blade some six inches broad at the top and twelve inches long, with a

¹ There is a definite tradition that this type was formerly in ordinary use in the Ao country. It is only comparatively recently that the Changs abandoned this shape in favour of the long "dao," the obvious merits of which are now ousting the axe-shaped "dao" in the Southern Sangtam country—J. P. M.

² Ceremonial axes of a curiously similar and equally unpractical shape are, or were, used for dancing in Kafiristan (*J. R. A. I.* Vol. XXVII, pl. VII). Hannay, writing of the northern Konyak or Rangpang Nagas at the edge of the Singpho country, in 1846, mentions a "*dhd* or hatchet" manufactured at Khetreegaon from "native iron ore" (*Selection of Papers regarding the Hill Tracts between Assam and Burmah*, p. 313)—J. H. H.



[Drawing by Mr. Henry Delfout]

1. Milemnol. 2. Nollang of Konyak type. 3. Nollang of Kichuchar clan, Mokongtsu village, said to have been used by ancestors at Chongliymti. 4. Ancient "dao" found just below the surface of the ground near Longsa. 5. Ancient ceremonial "dao" exhibited at mithan sacrifices at Changki (drawn edge upwards). 6. Ancient ceremonial "dao" exhibited at mithan sacrifices at Changki, the V shaped marks commemorate mithan sacrificed in the past. 7. Ancestral "fish-tailed dao" from Khari village, said to have been brought from Chongliymti.

[To face p. 61.]

tang one foot four inches long. The blade resembles that of an ordinary Ao "dao" in shape, but invariably has a small rounded projection at the back near the top.¹ The Western Konyaks also possess these "daos" and use them almost as a sort of currency in the marriage prices of rich girls. They say they were brought in by people from the plains. Another type, which is fairly common in the Lhota country, but very rare among the Aos, is long and narrow, with a straight edge and a slightly curved back.² One I saw at Chungtia was 32½ inches long, and only 2½ inches broad at the broadest part. The third type is only preserved in Changki villages and, more like a sword than a "dao," is utterly unlike any other Naga weapon with which I am acquainted. They are owned in pairs, and at the mithan sacrifice the sacrificer and his wife each carry one as they come out of the house to make their offerings to the mithan.³ Before advancing towards the animal they stick the "daos" upright in the ground, and it is a very bad omen if one topples over. A good specimen I measured had a length of just over four feet, of which the tang contributed rather more than half. Such a weapon must have been double-handed. The blade curves sharply backwards at the point, a deep scoop at the back following the curve of this backward bend. There is a small rounded projection in front at the point where the tang joins the blade, which is only an inch and three-quarters wide and has the back and edge more or less straight and parallel till the terminal backward curve is reached. On some specimens there is an incised pattern of V's, with bands of criss-cross lines above and below them, commemorating the mithan sacrificed by the owner. In what is obviously from its state a more modern copy of the old type the graceful curve at the top has become an ugly angle and the scoop at the back has practically disappeared. The fact that this specimen has never been sharpened indicates its purely ceremonial use. If the theory is correct that there is in the Aos of the Changki group a large element repre-

¹ So usually has the *milennol* or *merangpongnoh* —J. H. H.

² This type appears to be akin to the square-ended sword type found in some tribes on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. Cf. Dalton, *Visit to Mambu, an Aboi village*, Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XXIII, p. 161.—J. H. H.

³ See p. 201 *infra*.

senting the people who inhabited the Ao country at the time when the present occupants invaded it, these "daos" must formerly have been more widely distributed than they are at present, and in support of this there is a story that "daos" of this type have been found just below the surface of the ground on the Langbangkong between Mokongtsu and Chuchu Yimbang, and at Yongyimti.¹ The only "dao" which had been dug up that I have ever seen was of a very different type. Two were found about an inch below the surface of the ground near Longsa in April 1922. One was broken up and made into an adze by the miscreant who found it, and the other I secured. It is a very heavy weapon with a short square tang nine inches long and a pointed blade eleven and a half inches long. A square ridge separates the tang from the blade, which has a slightly forward-curving edge two and a quarter inches broad six inches from the point, to which the back curves sharply. At the ridge which separates the tang from the blade the latter is one inch broad.

The true Ao spear head is lozenge shaped, those used with

¹ The type seems to me to be linked with the two handed Khasia sword, and also with the Mikir (*vide* Stack and Lyall, *The Mikirs*, p. 35), and probably with the Kachari weapon, many specimens of which exist and are regarded with veneration, but I have not myself seen any.

The Shans were, of course, famous for the manufacture of two handed swords, but it seems possible that the long "dao" may have come from the opposite side of India. Arrian (*Indica* XVI) describes the inhabitants of India as having two handed swords as much as three cubits in length — μάχαρὰν δὲ πάντες φορέουσι, πλατεῖαν δέ, καὶ τὸ μῆκος οὐ μὲν τριπλήκειος καὶ ταύτην, ἐκείναι συστάδην καταστῆναι ἀντίσταν ἢ μάχη (τῇ δὲ οὐκ εὐμαρῶς Ἰνδοῖσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνεται), ἀφοῖν ταῖν χερσὶν καταφέρουσιν ἐς τὴν πληγὴν, which sounds much like a Nokrangr "sleeve" (*cf* p. 9 *supra*).

The Muruts of Borneo, who keep buffaloes and cultivate wet rice, are distinguished by the use of a long sword, and Hose and McDougall (*op. cit.* II 247) think that their culture came from Annam via the Philippines and that they are allied to the Mōi of Annam. For parallels between the Mōi and the Nagas *vide* *Man in India*, Vol. II, No. 3 (Sept. 22).

The characteristic of the long "dao" as it survives in Assam is in the iron tang passing through the handle or beyond it, if, as in some cases, the handle is of uncovered iron, to form a spike to stick into the ground when the owner is sitting down (*vide* Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 31, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 365). The Manipuris, as well as the Kabui Nagas, use a dancing "dao" in the *Lai Naraoba* ceremony (*vide* Shakespear, *Religion of Manipur*, Folk lore, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, p. 428), which appears to me to have been of the same type, with the spike bent back for convenience. The blade also of the short Kabui dancing "dao" looks as if it were originally derived from the same pattern as the long Changku "daos" described, which are certainly relatives of the Khasia sword — J. H. H.

ornamented shafts being often as much as a foot and a half long, excluding the socket. Such a spear can never be thrown without grave risk of breaking the shaft, and is meant solely for show. Spear heads with a long curved barb, after the Angami pattern, are occasionally used at Merangkong, but these seem to be a modern innovation.¹ The ordinary head is quite small and more squat, closely resembling the Konyak type. Many heads are indeed bought in the Konyak country, and the beautiful leaf-shaped heads, imported from the Kalyo-Kengyu country and said to be made at Wui, are very popular. The Rengma type is less often seen.² The shaft of an Ao spear is about six feet long, with the iron head and butt socketed on. The favourite woods for plain shafts are "nahor" or the rind of the sago-palm. For ornamented shafts, of which there are several varieties, inferior wood is often used, as such spears are never thrown and a tough shaft is accordingly not required. The most popular type of ornamented shaft is that known as *rongnu* (C) or *rongmu* (M). About three and a half feet of the shaft, except for a space for the hand, is covered with red pile, ending at the bottom in a deep fringe of red goat's hair. Longla practically has the monopoly of the manufacture of these shafts; short red goat's hair is bound on with fine string and then clipped even, so that it forms a sort of velvet pile. Another type (*pangtangnu* C; *khamtami* M) has about a foot of red pile at the top.³ Both varieties of red spear-shaft may be carried by anyone who has earned or bought the right to wear warrior's

¹ Very old spear heads of this type with a single curved "barb" on each side were found by me in a Lhota village, where they were said to be several generations old and now obsolete. This type with one barb only is an old one, and is found also as an antique among Kacha Nagas, sometimes. The pattern is still made by some Angamis, but is usually given more than one "barb" on each side nowadays. The older pattern approximates very closely indeed to a type of spear used by the Igorot and called by them *kay-yan*, while in the Konyak village of Yungya I once obtained an ancient spear head with straight, pointed barbs identical with the Igorot *fal seg* except for the method of mounting (vide Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, pp. 127, 128 and plates C, CI) —J. H. H.

² Dr. Hutton figures the Ao (4) Kalyo-Kengyu (1) and Rengma (5) types opposite p. 20 of his *Sema Nagas*. The Konyak type used by the Aos is slightly less elongated than the Ao specimen shown —J. P. M.

³ Of the spears figured opposite p. 34 of Dr. Hutton's *Angami Nagas* Nos. 9 and 10 have *rongnu* and *pangtangnu* shafts respectively. —J. P. M.

ornaments In a third variety of shaft (*thanoknū* C), which is only used in the Eastern Chongli villages, the bottom half is covered with long goat's hair for two feet of its length This spear may only be carried by an old man who has taken heads A spear (*rongmangrongnū* C, *rongmangrongmā* M), which is identically the same except that the hair is red with a broad band of black hair, may be used by a Chongli man, even though young, provided his father has given the full series of feasts of merit, but among the Mongsen is confined to old or middle aged men who have earned the right to put on a warrior's dress Spears of which the head, shaft and butt are all of iron, and often made in one piece, are called *nusungstū* C or *aynmichung* M They appear to be a comparatively modern innovation from the Konyak country Among the Chongli such a spear may only be owned by the oldest man of a clan in the village, on his death it does not go to his heirs, but to the next oldest man, and so on The Mongsen custom is that an old man who has both taken heads and done the mithan sacrifice may use such a spear The simplest spear of all is simply a sharpened bamboo (*rongchu* C, *sangcha* M) These are carried by small fry at pig and tiger hunts The crossbow is occasionally used for shooting monkeys and such like small game Those to be seen now are all of the Chang type¹ The arrows are simply sharp pieces of bamboo feathered with bits of bamboo spathe Plain bamboo bows with no stock, are used by boys for shooting birds They are held horizontally like a crossbow, and in some there is a nick in the middle of the stave to take the arrow The arrows are unfeathered and are often fitted with a separate blunt bamboo head, which stuns the bird and brings it down without carrying away what little meat there is on it Two simple missile weapons, now obsolete, remain to be described One (*longminolchen* C and M) was a piece of thick, heavy *longmā* bamboo about a foot long The ends were cut at a slant, leaving a sharp edge It was thrown at an attacking force in the hope that it would glance off a man's shield and wound the next man to him in the side Another missile (*pun* C, *awwalichak* M)

¹ See illustration facing p 24 of Dr Hutton's *Sema Nagas* —J F M

resembled the *longminokchen*, but had a long projection left at one end to serve as a handle. These were the missiles of the young men in the look outs in the trees at the village gate. They used to hurl them down on the heads of any party attacking the gate. The more they whirled in the air the nastier the cut they inflicted if they hit.

The sole defensive weapon of the Aos is the shield (*chung* C, *achung* M). These are either of leather or strong bamboo matting¹. Now that war is no more several types are obsolete, but light hide shields are still used for dancing, and bamboo shields for ringing tiger and leopard. The hide for war shields was obtained either from the wild buffalo, or from a breed of semi feral buffalo kept by the Changs. Nowadays dancing shields are made from the much thinner hide of the Assamese domestic buffalo, or even from bark. The biggest type of hide shield was called *tongbongchung* (C) or *tongbongunglepchung* (M), and was so heavy that it could not easily be carried about. These shields were used only in defending villages. A man would rest his shield on a pile of bundles of thatching grass, or a rock, or a short forked stick, and, taking his stand behind it, wait for the attack. The ordinary leather war shield (*chunglok* C and M) measured about three feet long and one and a half feet broad. It was square at the top and bottom, and a prominent ridge down the centre increased the chance of missiles glancing from it. There was a bamboo handle in the centre at the back to which was attached a small headband for carrying the shield on the march. Hide shields of exactly the same shape, but rather smaller (*otangchung* or *anüchung*² C, *otangchung* M) were formerly used for war and are still often carried at dances. The ordinary bamboo shield (*chunglang* C, *ling chung* M) is of the same pattern as that used by the Semas. A much smaller bamboo shield (*alanglangchung*—"young

¹ There is a tradition that the Chongli adopted the bamboo shield from the Mongsen having only had leather shields before.—J P M

It is perhaps significant in this connection that the Thado Kuki uses only a hide shield, which slopes from the centre to the corners.—J H M

² *Otangchung* = 'wild buffalo shield' from the hide of which it was made, and *anüchung* = 'sun shield' referring to the white circles of lime with which it is often decorated.—J P M

This is perhaps a matter of crowd psychology. Aos armed only with spears and shields will drive a tiger into a stockade. They are doing something they understand and the whole thing goes according to programme. On one occasion two Ao villages were driving a rogue elephant out of some jungle for me. The beast came out on to an open path and out of sheer bravado a party of men sitting eating further down the path got up and danced and jeered at it. It turned aside into the jungle, came quietly along, and charged through the party just as they had settled down to resume their meal. Two men were killed. At once bravado turned to panic and so frightened were they that the elephant would charge again that it was with difficulty that I could dissuade them from abandoning the bodies and bolting. It was an Ao who steadied them by climbing a tree and pretending that he could see the jungle waving a long way off as the elephant went its way, while as a matter of fact it was standing quite close. Changs, Semas and Lhotas have all taken territory from the Aos, who, it may be said, are thereby proved to be poor fighters. But the Aos were once conquerors themselves. Now they are an old race and seem but to follow the law that a tribe or nation expands, reaches the zenith of its power, and then begins to be pushed back from its frontiers. The reputation that the Aos have of unsteadiness on trans-frontier expeditions is traceable to what happened when a punitive force was sent to deal with the Konyak village of Chinlong. The Konyaks ambushed the column and charged through the Ao carriers, taking several heads. The Aos threw down their loads and bolted. Whether any other Naga tribe would not have done the same it is impossible to say, for there is, as far as I know, no other record of a British column being cut up by a Naga

nine heads, mostly those of women and children. About a fortnight later the Semas raided again in the hope of more heads. But this time Houpu had called in allies and was ready for them. The Semas got through a hole in the fence and burnt the lower "khel," which was not defended, and got one head. Meanwhile the defenders massed for a counter attack in the upper "khel." A Sema saw them and called out that it was time to retreat a little. At this the whole body of Semas turned tail, and a wild struggle ensued to get through the hole in the fence. The Sangta mas attacked and the Semas lost thirteen heads—J. P. M.

ambush. The Aos served well during the Kuki Punitive Measures, and when speaking of Ao courage it should never be forgotten that a large contingent of volunteers from the tribe faced the utterly unknown and rendered excellent service with the Naga Labour Corps in France.

The Ao undoubtedly enjoys litigation, and as, when any dispute arises in a village, all the relations on either side join in and express their views simultaneously in a voice which is meant to be loud enough to drown that of their opponents, the resulting noise can be imagined. When a case comes before the Subdivisional Officer witnesses have to wait their turn, of course, but only a small proportion of cases get as far as that. For out of the uproar in the village a decision is usually in some miraculous way arrived at in time. Not that the village elders who are sitting in judgment are always impartial. Far from it. They often take sides vigorously and shout with the rest. Even so the common feeling of the community rarely fails to bring about a settlement which is felt to be in accordance with established custom. For the Ao fully realizes that custom is the sheet-anchor of his little ship of state, and trivial breaches of custom often cause a turmoil seemingly out of all proportion to their importance because, as Aos have so often said to me, "if one custom be broken all customs will be disregarded."

Every Ao thinks himself a fine fellow and resents an insult. Often reparation is demanded for what seems to a stranger a harmless remark. But it was meant to sting all the same, and one remembers that even in England it is not so very long since a flick with a glove meant a duel to the death. The morals of the Ao leave much to be desired. The subject is better dealt with when considering the position of women, and it will suffice to say here that while by custom he is monogamous, by temperament he is most emphatically polygamous. Unnatural vice is unknown. A devoted parent and on the whole kind to his domestic animals the Ao is nevertheless capable of great cruelty at times. Much of the pain he inflicts—or rather used to inflict, before the country was annexed—has a ceremonial object. Mithan were tortured before they were sacrificed

and the plucking of a fowl alive formed part of many ceremonies. Much cruelty too was merely callous. Like all Nagas the Aos did not hesitate to pluck dogs and goats alive for the sake of getting hair a fraction of an inch longer than clipped hair would have been. The Ao probably washes as much as most Nagas, but he almost invariably smells of nicotine, being a heavy smoker, and the dirtiness of his drinking cups and household utensils is undeniable. He is intelligent and on the whole truthful, though any Ao, even the most truthful, would, I think, admit that a lie is a very present help in trouble, and would heartily agree with the frank individual who said "George Washington couldn't tell a lie. But *I can*, and that's where I have the bulge on George." Theft and crimes of violence are uncommon, and above all almost every member of the tribe possesses that pearl of great price, a sense of humour.¹

¹ Mr. Mills has a higher opinion of the Ao than I have, perhaps because he knows him better than I do, but I do not think that he has laid enough stress on the psychological difference that undoubtedly exists between the Ao and the other better known Naga tribes. I suspect that this difference is due to race. The Ao cephalic index works out at 81, which may be contrasted with the Angamis' 76 (vide *The Angami Nagas*, Appendix XI). Dixon (*Racial History of Man*, p. 261) includes the Ao with the Ahom, Magh and Chakma, in whom, he says, the Palae Alpine type forms 65 per cent of their ethnic composition and the Alpine type comes next in importance. In any case they are brachycephalic, whereas their neighbours in the hills are mostly dolichocephalic. Again in a paper in *Man in India* (Vol. II Nos. 1 and 2, June 1922) Dixon associates the Ao with the Khasi and the Manipuri on anthropometrical grounds. This association with the Manipuri is interesting, since never have I been down to Manipur but I have been struck by the physical resemblance between the Ao woman and the Meitei woman. Nor is this resemblance merely physical. The Ao and the Manipuri share a certain Pharisaic attitude of mind which displays itself in the most extravagant captiousness ready enough to swallow a camel, but always straining at a gnat. The Manipuri is anything but a pious Hindu, yet if a European lean his bicycle against a Manipuri's house he will say his dwelling is defiled and burn it down. So an Ao turned Christian, and not so pious either, declares that the very thought of eating the flesh of any mithan gives him physical nausea, because it is usually a mithan which is killed in the ancient (and heathen) festivals. The Angami convert is entirely different, and usually gets on quite well with his unconverted fellow villagers. Nor is this captiousness confined to religion, but it runs through the Ao character. Let me give an instance typical of the sort of thing which comes up in Court almost daily. 'A walked down the village street (Mubongchokut, I think) carrying a basket with an old palm leaf over it to keep out the rain. He called in at a friend's house for a drink. The lady, B, who was at home gave him a drink quite agreeably. Having gone on he found he had left his palm leaf, worth perhaps a farthing or less, and went back for it, when the following dialogue took place

A "I've lost my 'tonko-pat' leaf."

B "It's calling me a thief you are, is it then?"

A "So you're accusing me of making a false charge, are you?"

And both parties hurried off to the village elders, each to claim a pig for slander.

Another point in which the Ao differs psychologically from his neighbours is in the alacrity with which he takes to reading and writing. You can teach an Ao boy to read and write and to imbibe all the essence of babudom except its virtues in about a third of the time that it takes with most Nagas, and that not because he has more intelligence but because he has the disposition, which they have not —J H H

PART II

DOMESTIC LIFE

The Village and its Approaches.

THE great Ao villages with their streets of close-packed houses crown the highest points of the long, straight ranges which are such a conspicuous feature of the country. A few are situated on spurs running out from the main ranges, but a site in a valley is never selected. The name of a village is usually either derived from some peculiarity of the site, or commemorates an ancient settlement there. Thus Chuchu Yimlang is so called from a kind of thin bamboo (*chuchu*) with which the hill was covered when its first founders came,¹ and Chantongia derives its name similarly from that of a species of cane. Mongsenyimti means "big Mongsen village," though it is pure Chongli now, and Yongyimsen ("new village of the Yong people") recalls long-departed Konyak settlers. Every village is surrounded by a belt of bamboo clumps and light jungle, kept thin by wandering cattle and pigs. The approaches are unrivalled in the Naga Hills for picturesqueness. The main path along the top of the range passes through each village, and where it approaches the gate is often roughly paved with stones. Avenues of fine old spear-oaks, planted long ago, flank the path. These trees are not found wild in the Ao country and are said to have been brought with them by the tribe on their migrations. The avenues, which

¹ Similarly Aichi Sagami after the same bamboo, which the Semas call *aichi*, or Khonoma (Khwūnoma) of the Angamis after the *khwuno* shrub, which still grows thickly round the site. So too in the Chin Hills *Taklat* from the pine trees growing on the site (Carey and Tuck, *op. cit.* p. 176). Village names from trees are also common in Madagascar, e.g. *Ambolobé*, "Much bamboo" (Sibree, *Madagascar Before the Conquest*, p. 136) — J. H. H.

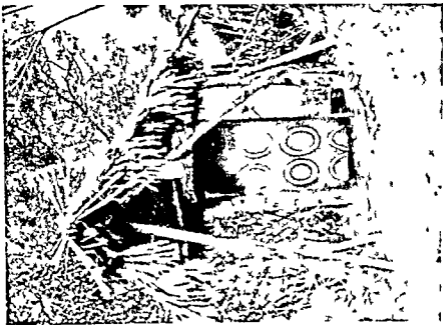
give welcome shade for the last pull up, belong to the village and anyone found damaging a tree is fined by the elders.¹

Defences.

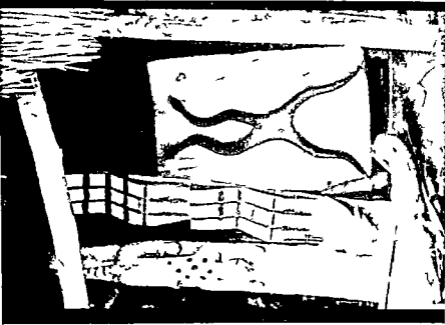
The gate at each end of the village was, in the old days, closed with a great wooden door hewn out of a single piece of wood and often roughly ornamented with carved circles. The land has had rest thirty years now, and a door that falls and rots is no longer replaced. But in the old days the fashioning and setting up of one of these huge planks was celebrated by taking a head as soon as possible and carrying it in triumph through the new gate. The gate was roofed over like a lych-gate to protect it from the weather, and on either side the village fence was built out like a redoubt to enable the defenders to take attackers in the flank. The fence, which was of wooden stakes, lashed together and bristling with "panjis," stretched right round the village, except where the precipitous nature of the ground made it unnecessary. Though no longer needed, a portion of the fence is still formally renewed every year in November at a festival called *Atsütsü limak* (C) or *Urang kimak* (M). The elders give notice of the date and the unmarried girls make rice beer. On the day all the men of the village repair the fence and in the evening the young men make a tour of the girls' dormitories, singing and being entertained with rice beer at each—the Ao buck's idea of the close of a perfect day. A village relied mainly on its fence for its safety, advance lines of defence in the form of "panji"-filled ditches being only really useful where the ground on either side of the path fell away so steeply that they could not be outflanked. To make the

¹ Similar avenues seem to be planted by the Wa, a Burmese hill tribe whose language is Mon khmer like Khasi, but whose customs are emphatically closely connected with Naga tribes, thus supplying the necessary link between the Khasis and the Nagas. The avenues of the Wa, however, are used as the ultimate resting places of raided skulls (Scott and Hardiman, *op. cit.* I, 1, 499), except in some villages in which the avenues still survive, though the custom of keeping heads there has died out (*ibid.*, p. 512) — J. H. H.

Many Kacha Naga villages are approached by avenues of oak — J. P. M. And like those of the Wa and like Kubok of the Mongsen Aos are defended by growing thorn brakes propped up on forked sticks (*vide supra*, p. 7) — J. H. H.



VILLAGE CASTLE, NINGBO, KONG



111 Photograph by Mr. Der. d. J.

POST AND DOOR OF N. RING CHANTONGIA S. O. TNO

gate defences doubly strong look out platforms were constructed in convenient trees close at hand¹ A *Ficus* tree was often specially grown for this purpose by the side of the gate. The long hanging tendrils were trained down bamboos with the object of securing wide spreading branches stretching right over the path, for look outs stationed on such branches would be particularly well placed for dealing with the hairy pates of their enemies down below. Even now in many villages the tendrils are still trained carefully down bamboos to the ground, "because it is the custom"—a good example of pure conservatism.

The "Morung"

Near each gate, but inside the fence, stands a "morung" (*arichu* C and M), a really fine building, often over fifty feet long and twenty feet broad, with a front gable thirty feet above the ground. It is both a guard house and club house, and plays a most important part in the social life of the village². It is, of course, forbidden for a woman to

¹ So, apparently, the Kumis of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Lewin, *op cit* pp 222 *sq*)—J H H.

² The 'Bachelors' Hall, 'Morung' or *Dela chang*, though it barely survives in the Soma tribe, exists in every other Naga tribe I know, and in many other tribes in Assam. With the Dimas (Hill Kacharis) it is now no more than a raised and sheltered platform in the middle of the village, and with the Plains Kacharis of Kamrup it seems to have faded into the *namghar* where Hindu religious ceremonies take place. Westwards it survives among the Mundas and Oraons of Chota Nagpur (S C Roy, *The Mundas*, p 385. *The Oraons*, p 211) though among the latter it is fast disappearing (*ibid*, p 172). Peal (*On the Morung, etc*, J R A I, XXII, 244) states that it is reported from the Masai in Africa, and Driberg reports from the Lango of Uganda that each bachelor has his own, though the girls seem to have a communal building (*Illustrated London News*, May 19, 1923). He denies, by the way, that the institution is intended to promote morality.

In the other direction it is found as far as Formosa (McGovern, *op cit*, p 122) and Annam (Baudesson, *Indo China and its Primitive People*, p 45, where he repeats the theory that it exists for the purposes of morality, but admits that it does nothing to achieve them) and the Philippines (Jenks, *op cit*, p 51) and as far south as the islands in the Pacific, being found in between in Malay, apparently (Sleat and Blagden, *op cit*, I, 86), while the separate bachelors' quarters in the communal houses of Borneo (Hose and McDougall, *op cit*, I, 52) suggest that the Bachelors' 'Morung' is the communal house from which private dwellings split off as pointed out by Peal (*loc cit*). Shakespear, writing of the Lushai 'morung' ('*aulbuk*') suggests that its purpose is to prevent incest, but it is perhaps more likely that it is a survival and not deliberately instituted with a definite purpose.

The *rau* of Papua, in which the Namau keep their wooden drums, seems to be very like the western type of Ao "morung" structurally,

enter it. In front there is often a big platform on which the bucks sit out and talk. Ao "morungs" are of two types. The one favoured by the Western villages has a closed front, while the one found in the Eastern villages has an open front and somewhat resembles the Konyak pattern. The Western type is as a rule about fifty feet long and over twenty feet broad in front, being rather narrower at the back. The height at the back is about fifteen feet and the roof-tree slopes up till it ends in a front gable thirty feet above the ground. The eaves come right down to the ground, covering the walls and protecting those sleeping within from spears thrust through at night from the outside. Except for tiny doors the back and front of the "morung" are closed. Just inside each door is a barrier consisting of a huge beam laid on the ground across the "morung" and covered with very slippery bamboo matting. It is too high to step over and too slippery quickly to scramble over, so that an attacker, even if he got through the door, would have to jump on to it and down the other side, and would be bound to expose himself while so doing. Beyond the beam is the main post of the "morung," usually carved with rough representations of men and tigers.¹ Beyond that again are the sleeping-benches round the walls, and two hearths on the beaten earth floor, of which the one nearer the front door is reserved for the senior inmates, and the back one for the younger boys. "Morungs" of the Eastern type are as a rule neither as long nor as high as those in Western villages. The roof slopes upwards towards the front in the same way, but the whole front is open and the main pillars supporting the roof are elaborately carved with men, heads,

particularly when the front is screened as shown in Pl M, Fig. 1 to Dr Haddon's article in *Man*, December 1910. When one reads that the central gangway is of boards formed of the sides of broken canoes one wonders whether they can be used as stamping drums, such as the Konyaks keep in their "morungs" in addition to slit log "drums" of the kind that Peal has described as "canoe drums" (*vide infra*, note on drum-logs) — J. H. H.

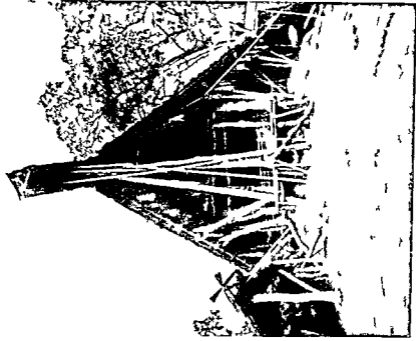
¹ Cf. the Garo *nokpanté* (Playfair, *The Garos*, pp. 37, 39). The Ao tiger is normally represented as coming down the post. The one in Playfair's illustration (*ibid.*, 131) is shown going up, but the style of carving is identical — J. H. H.



MORUNG \ IT (SITTING OUT PLATFORM (LEFT) AND IOG I HUM S ID (RIGHT) MOKONGTSU VILLAGE
Photograph by Mr. Me Kiejo



MORUNG OI CHANG TAYJ M NUSPENYINTI VILLAGE



MORUNG C LCHU YIMLANC VILLAGE SIO ING LOG DRUM
SHED TO LEFT

hornbills, tigers, elephants and so on. The front third of the "morung" thus forms a sort of deep open porch. Between this and the sleeping quarters is a strong partition of planks, with carved posts and cross beams. A favourite form of door for this partition is a big oval hole cut in an enormous plank, the hewing out of which by hand must be a work of infinite labour. A "morung" is rebuilt every six years, being repaired once in each interval¹. The ceremonies at the time of rebuilding are not elaborate. The inmates club together and buy pigs and cattle for the inevitable feast. When all is ready and new building materials have been collected the old "morung" is broken down. Next day old men of the clans using the "morung" in question kill the animals, each one saying as he does so, "May my sons in this 'morung' flourish, and grow like cane shoots and like the shoots of the *Ficus* tree, and may they be wise in all things." For this the old men receive a share of meat and are "genna"² for six days. The oldest of them, after the animals have been killed, digs a hole for the left hand front post. Two men from each clan then go off to the new main centre post which is lying ready felled in the jungle, and set to work to carve it. It is set up next day, and on the carvings on it and on any other carvings which require freshening up one of the senior inmates puts a mixture of soot and blood from the slaughtered animals. For instance he will put stripes on a tiger or colour a hornbill's beak. This is usually done by a married man connected with the "morung," but it may not be done by a man whose wife is pregnant. The rebuilding takes three or four days to complete. On the last evening the girls of the other phratries, with whom the bucks of the "morung" are wont to consort, assemble in front of the "morung" and

¹ All the carved beams and planks are not renewed every six years. They are only replaced when they are rotten.—J P M

² That is to say their households are *anembong* and their relations with the outside world are restricted. This is usual after any religious ceremony. According to the occasion which gives rise to it the restrictions laid upon an *anembong* household may vary from an absolute prohibition of intercourse with the outside world to nothing more than the necessity of refraining from defiled meat. The argument is that a man who has taken part in any religious ceremony is particularly open to attack by evil spirits: he must therefore run no risks for a time.—J P M

walk round it six times singing, and are afterwards entertained to a feast outside. All then go to the houses of rich men attached to the "morung" and sing and drink till morning. In the old days a raid was organized and a head obtained and hung up in the "morung" as soon as possible after it had been rebuilt.

Village drums.

Perhaps the most striking specimens of Ao handiwork are their great drums (*songkong* C; *tongten* M), or xylophones as they should be more accurately termed—each a huge log, sometimes 37 feet long and 14 feet in girth, laboriously hollowed out through a long slit running down the length of the body of the drum. They are to be found throughout the Ao country except in the Mongsen villages on the Chapvukong and in villages of the Changki group, where they probably never existed. Changki, always eager to prove that they are in no wise different from other Aos, say that they used to have a drum, but that, jealous of the "tap-tap" of Changki women making pots, which rivalled its own fine note, it ran away down a steep slope and turned into stone. Originally,¹ it

¹ This information I had from Kabza. Ungma say it is quite incorrect, and that the Aos have always had drums, but that the customs of building rich men's houses with very low eaves in front, of ringing leopard and tiger, and of placing wooden representations of ornaments, etc., in front of corpse platforms originated in Sütü.—J. P. M.

I feel doubtful about the accuracy of this Kabza tradition, and suspect the last invaders found the drum in the country before them. The trouble with these mixed tribes is that one never knows which of the original contributors to the existing stock bequeathed any given tradition. These log drums are used by the Konyaks, or at any rate by the southern Konyak tribes, and by the Sangtams. They are used by the Wa of Upper Burma (Scott and Hardiman, *op. cit.* I, 1, p. 502), and Evans reports one from Borneo (*op. cit.*, p. 133), mentioning them as used by the Malays. They are used by the Melanesians (Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 336), who also use a smaller variety which is represented by a joint of bamboo with an open longitudinal slit (*loc. cit.*). The Khasis of Assam seem to use a precisely similar bamboo "drum," particularly at funerals, and my Khasi informant tells me that by hammering a two-foot bamboo slit drum with a stick a very considerable volume of sound is obtained. Peal (*On the Morong, etc.*, J. R. A. S., XXII, p. 252) speaks of and figures a "canoe drum" from Fiji called *lali*, and one wonders whether the slit log drum could have originated in a canoe beaten on the side with the handles of paddle to keep time (vide Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 350) or to applaud after the manner of an Eight's crew at Oxford.

That the Papuan war canoe was used as a drum on occasions is to be

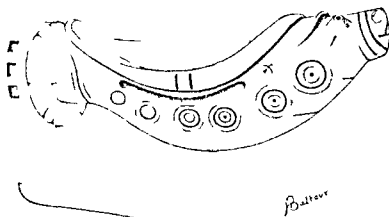
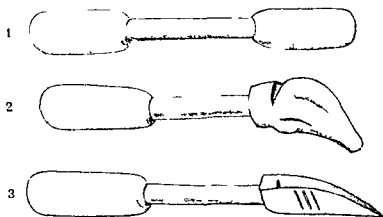


FIGURE 1. TONCOPHA VILLAGE SHOWING TONCUE
CARVED TO REPRESENT A FACE



FIGURE 2. HOUSE IN KHEP WARMUNG VILLAGE

[To face p. 76.]



(Drawn by Mr. Henry Balfour)

- 1 2 and 3 Drum strikers
- 4 Head of drum (Cligh khal) Iurgham village
- * Carving on base of drum
- 5 Tail of drum

is said, no Aos had drums. Sütsü are said to have been the first to make one, though where they got the idea from is not known. Other villagers heard the booming and came and saw and copied. This was after Kabza had moved from their original to their present site and so must have been comparatively late in the Ao migrations. Save on the Chapvukong and in villages of the Changki group every "khel" has a drum, and they are remarkably uniform in pattern. They consist of huge logs, slit along one side and partially hollowed out. One end is carved to represent what is undoubtedly a buffalo's head, with the horns lying back along the drum, though the Aos have forgotten this and regard the head simply as the head of the drum, carved as their forefathers had always carved it, and the horns as the drum's arms. The tongue of the buffalo often protrudes and turns up against the upper lip, and, as if to personify the drum still further, a human face is often carved on the tongue. While

inferred from Williams' account of the Paurama ceremony in the Purn Delta—*J.R.A.I.*, LIII, p. 385 #1—and the particular occasion is one associated with head hunting. The derivation of the drum log from a canoe would make the dumb bell strikers curtailed paddles and account for the method of holding and striking.

It is worth while pointing out perhaps that in the Kachin story of the Flood the two survivors escape drowning in "a large oval shaped drum" (Hanson, *The Kachins*, p. 112). Can this have been a "canoe drum"? A wooden drum appears in the story of the Burmese acquisition of Arakan as a possession of the pre-Burmese king, but we are not told its design (Scott and Hardiman, *op. cit.*, I. ii. 402).

The Melanesians also use a pit in the ground with a board fixed over it, on which the players "stamp with splendid effect" (Meri La Voy, *Art in the Pacific, Country Life*, January 13, 1923, cf. also Collington, p. 337). The Besai and Sakai, on the other hand, reverse the process in hammering on a solid log with bamboo "stamping tubes" (Skeat and Blagden, *op. cit.*, II. 140 #77; 137, 138).

Some of the Angami have something very near a bamboo "drum" in two implements for scaring birds described on p. 59 of *The Sema Nagas* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 52) and p. 75 of *The Angami Nagas*. The Angamis use a wooden vat for brewing which is made of a similar pattern and size to the Ao drum-log, and, as in the case of the Melanesian instrument, has handles left on at the time of manufacture for the manipulation of the finished vat. As "food troughs" have been used in the Pacific for canoes (cf. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, III. 400) the Angami vats may conceivably be the form in which the canoe has survived among the Angamis, as it perhaps has among the Aos in the form of a "drum".

The buffalo head of the Ao drum log is found in a more realistic form among some of the Konyaks.

Drum logs are also found among the Southern Tangkhuls of Manipur, who use dumb bell shaped beaters as the Aos do. Pairs of small drum-logs are also used by Indian tribes of the Amazons in South America (Whiffen, *The North West Amazons*, pp. 214 #7) —J. H. H.

it is hard to say why a buffalo's head should be carved on the head of their drums it is not difficult to understand how the Aos have come to forget what the carving represents. For to them a buffalo's head is without significance. Mithan horns, a sign of wealth, are often carved on their posts, but never buffalo horns. For the buffalo cannot be sacrificed, and is nothing accounted of except as meat. The Changs, on the other hand, whose culture is in many ways akin to that of the Aos, can sacrifice buffalo, and consequently carve representations of their horns on their house-posts as a sign of wealth.¹ In beating the drum, which lies with the slit at the top, the bucks and boys of the "morung" line up along it. One stout fellow gives the time with two levers which he raises and allows to fall on to the drum, while the others drum and roll with large wooden dumb-bells which they strike on the edge of the slit. To give greater resonance the drum is raised on a framework of beams, and can be heard a very long way off. Accordingly as it is beaten an alarm can be given, the taking of a head can be celebrated, or mere light-heartedness at some festival can be voiced. The drum is always placed close to the

¹ There seems to be some confusion between the symbolic uses of the mithan head and the buffalo head in the Naga Hills, a confusion which was first pointed out to me by Mr. Henry Balfour. By some Angamis carvings, which are far more like buffalo heads, are spoken of as "mithan heads," the buffalo having no significance. By others again, *eg* the Naked Rengmas, buffalo heads are spoken of as such and the buffalo is slaughtered at feasts without distinction from mithan, if not actually in preference to them. Buffaloes are not kept by the Angamis, the Semas, the Lhota, the Ao, the Kacha Nagas or the Kukis, whereas the Tangkhul, the Naked Rengma, the Chang and the Konyaks do keep them, so that the distribution of the buffalo, though partially so, is not really coincident with that of irrigated terraces, as one might expect to find in view of its apparent coincidence with irrigation in Borneo and the Philippines. Personally I am inclined to associate the buffalo with irrigation and with a southern culture, and the mithan with the northern culture of the Kachins and Kukis, though in the case of the Kukis it reached the Naga Hills from the south also. The buffalo is much more an animal of the swamps and plains than the mithan, and it is likely that it would be ousted by the other wherever it (the buffalo) was not actually used for cultivation, as the mithan is a far more tractable beast when kept under the semi-feral conditions under which Nagas keep either or both. On the other hand, it may be that the buffalo as a domestic animal among Naga tribes is entirely a comparatively recent importation, and that its representation in art was acquired elsewhere and is definitely immigrant. In China "the spring buffalo" is a recognized fertility emblem (Kidd, *China*, p. 303). The general inference which I myself draw is that the buffalo is to be associated with a Mon-khmer culture and the mithan with a Tibeto-Burman.—J. H. H.

"morung" in whose charge it is,¹ and is roofed over to protect it from the weather. Enormous labour is required to make one and drag it up to the village, so that it is not surprising that in the case of a fire in the village it is the first duty of the boys of the "morung" to tear down and remove the inflammable roof which covers the drum. If the drum is singed a cock is offered to it to appease it. Indeed it is more nearly an idol than anything else which the Aos possess. Offerings are sometimes made to it in times of drought, human heads were invariably first placed on it,² and even nowadays it often wears a necklace of bamboo basket balls representing heads, though real heads were apparently never used for this purpose,³ the prayer uttered when a new drum is sprinkled with blood is definitely regarded as being addressed to the drum itself. In spite of all precautions a drum does at times get burnt and a new one has to be made. It is carved all ready in the jungle and on the appointed day is dragged up to the village with much feasting and drinking.⁴ Wooden rollers are placed under it to make it possible to move it, but even so a drum is regarded as having a will of its own, which may cause it to refuse to budge. Once arrived at its destination, it is dragged on to the log framework prepared for it up a slope of logs of graded girth laid transversely. Some of the blood of the beasts killed in the morning is smeared on it and a prayer is offered to it of which the Chongli version runs as follows

O yita anü nutang ashir anü Yungkung
O moon sun to you we are speaking indeed Village
tajong inungnye pu aram ash tarutsi
good here if is pestilence death let there not come

¹ Very occasionally (e.g. at Chantongia) the drum is housed in the morung.—J. P. M.

² Frazer *Belief in Immortality* II 327 (quoting Krusenstern *Voyage Round the World*) says: "Sometimes the prows of war canoes were decorated (by the Marquesans) with the skulls of slaughtered enemies."—J. H. H.

³ This again suggests a canoe origin for the drum log. The head would first rest in the canoe till brought home and then be put elsewhere while a canoe figure head depicted by Codrington (*op. cit.* p. 296) carries a head representing that taken when the canoe was first used.—J. H. H.

⁴ If the drum be very big and the path very steep it may take more than a day to drag it up. In the autumn of 1923 the Mongsien klai of Lungkam took nearly a month to get a huge new drum up to the village and into position.—J. P. M.

ni, lanu tajong sejong ni, tsaktsung
indeed, children good let there be born indeed, rice
osung sejong ni, Miri lolak Aor lolak
plenty let there grow indeed, foreign heads, Ao heads
mowachang ni, kize, shati mowachang
let there be got indeed, tigers, elephants let there be got
ni, pongziltazi, tünam tobung mowachang ni
indeed, ¹ wild boars, hornbill cocks let there be got indeed

In the old days any stranger, whether friend or foe, who came to a village on the day when a new drum was dragged in was killed and his head placed on the drum, which was joyfully beaten to celebrate such a happy initiation. If, as usually happened, the village did not have a piece of luck like this, the drum was fenced round as soon as it had been placed in position, and the fence could not be removed or the drum beaten till the young men had been out and brought in a head ²

Streets

The regular streets and closely-serried houses of an Ao village give one the impression of something long established and permanent, far different from the "miserable collections of bamboo huts" in which hill tribes are popularly supposed to live. The path running along the top of the ridge becomes the main street, in some places so narrow that the gables of the houses on opposite sides overlap overhead, in others widening out into dancing grounds where mithan are tied up before sacrifice. The houses are so close together that it is often possible to walk along the backs stepping from platform to platform. Behind the two rows of houses flanking the main street are other rows, each row facing uphill towards the forest of bamboo poles supporting the platforms of the row in front. Every Ao village has its Park Lane, usually the street on the top of the ridge, where the rich men live, the poorer people living in the houses on the slopes on either side, till you come to the squalid little hovels of old widows on the outskirts of

¹ Cf. also *The Angami Nagas* p. 373 —J H H

² Cf. Codrington *op cit* p. 237 and n. 1. The case gives a very close parallel for the canoe and the 'drum' —J H H

the village. Lower down the slopes, and sufficiently removed to ensure their safety should the village catch fire, are granaries, little miniature houses raised two or three feet above the ground on piles.

Head-tree

In one of the open spaces of the village, or of each "khel" of a large village, stands a head tree (*mangkotürong* C; *yimzung* M), usually a miserable, scraggy specimen of *Erythrina arborescens*,¹ and very different from the magnificent head-trees to be found in Lhota villages.² It is treated with no particular reverence. At the foot are round stones (*arenlung* C and M = "prosperity stones"),³

¹ Mrs W Meiklejohn, I F S, was kind enough to identify the tree for me.—J P. M.

² This tree is used as a head tree by Kacha Nagas, who call it *ntuang* (the Lyengmai word). The tree must grow on land belonging to the hereditary representatives of former chiefs (for no chiefs can any longer be said to exist as such), and as at Sangratsu, I think, oaths are taken on this tree, the swearer expressing the wish that if he lies, he may fall and rot like the *ntuang* tree. It seems possible that the original wish was to rot like the heads on it, but it is now explained as referring to the tree "because such a tree, when it falls, rots very fast, being of soft wood." The Sangratsu oath however, is an ordeal undergone by pulling the leaves, which do not readily come away in the hand of a false swearer. The *Erythrina arborescens* is chosen, perhaps because of its vitality. It is commonly used in the plains of Assam and Bengal to mark boundaries, as any fragment thrust into the ground will take root and flourish. Perhaps for the same reason this tree may not be burnt at Angami marriages (*The Angami Nagas*, p 191). The Garos used to bury their enemies' hands and feet and then plant an *Erythrina* on the spot (Playfair, *The Garos*, p 78). Head trees generally seem selected for some association with fertility, as I conclude that the *Ficus* usually preferred, or the *euphorbia* as in some Konyak villages, are so chosen because of the milk like juice which exudes from them when injured, such juice having been used to give fertility to barren women in Africa and Italy (*Golden Bough*, II, 313, 316), and the *figus* having been worshipped for that purpose by the Akamba (*ibid*, p 317, and VIII, 113), and having been also regarded as the haunt of the souls of the dead by the Akikuyu (*ibid*, II, 316) and worshipped to obtain offspring in the south of India (Frazer, *Folk Lore in the Old Testament*, III, 316), the relation between the two being obvious. I have endeavoured to show elsewhere (*Varied Monoliths at Samuguri*, J R A I, Vol LIII, June 1923) the intimate connection in the Naga Hills between the Dead and the fertility of the soil, a connection equally strong apparently, among the Wa, a Mon Khmer tribe of Burma (Scott and Hardiman, *loc cit*)—J H H.

³ For this use of water worn stones, often in association with trees, cf *The Sema Nagas*, pp 174, 175, Mills, *The Lhota Nagas* pp 108, 167, Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, pp 110, 117, 175, 189, and *The Meik eis*, p 102 (where the stones brought from Naga villages to Imphal were presumably stones of this description), Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p 34, Hose and McDougall, *op cit*, II, 15 sq, Codrington, *op cit*, pp 119, 175, Crooke, *The North Western Provinces of India*, p 249, Leonard,

but they are never counted or attended to, and are generally buried deep in dust and rubbish

Another class of water-worn stones called *manglo-türonglung* (C) or *yimzunglung* (M) used to be deposited under head-trees. Two villages after a peace meeting would each bring a stone home¹ and lay it under their respective head-trees, vowing that till it rotted there would be no more war. Of these stones some were said to be female and some male, but the sexes were indistinguishable externally. They were believed to breed and increase, but were never counted, or even touched. If light coloured stones were brought they were believed gradually to get darker.

Divisions of a village.

Every village of any size is divided into two or more "khels," as they are called in Naga-Assamese (*muphu* C and M). These divisions are purely geographical, though it is naturally usual to find members of the same language group or clan or body of later immigrants to the village living together in the same *muphu*. For instance, in all villages where the Chongli and Mongsen groups are more or less equally represented members of each group occupy a separate *muphu*, which in many ways is run as a separate village² Even in a purely Chongli village, if very big, like Ungma, the upper and lower *muphu* has each its separate organisation and even slightly different customs. Sometimes a separate *muphu* represents a separate foundation. For instance Mangmethang contains two *muphus*, one of which was founded by a later body of immigrants. Each has its own organisation and is indeed practically a separate village, the whole village not even observing the same *amungs*³ except in the

The Lower Neger and its Tribes, p. 310, Perry, *Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, Ch VIII.—J. H. H.

¹ This is done by Phoms and some Konyaks, who, however, bring back the stone "as a witness" and make their excuses to this stone when about to renew the war.—J. H. H.

² So in the Rengma village of Tesiphenyu there are two "khels," each containing more than one "morung," living alongside one another yet speaking severally the two different Rengma tongues.—J. H. H.

³ An *amung* day is one on which members of the village must refrain from work outside the village—a Sabbath in fact. Such days vary in



VIEW OF KHARI VILLAGE SHOWING DIVISION INTO KHELS



VIEW OF MERANCIONG VILLAGE SHOWING BAMBOO PILES ON WHICH HOUSES ARE BUILT

case of an "apotia" death¹ But this is an extreme case. Even when the size of the village or the fact that it contains members of both the Mongsen and Chongh groups necessitates each *mūphu* having its own organisation the village usually observes all *amungs* on the same day Between *mūphu* and *mūphu* there is usually an open space which serves as a fire line Even so a fire in an Ao village with its crowded bamboo houses is disastrous enough On the whole these divisions play a smaller part than might be expected in Ao life, and a man usually describes himself as belonging to such and such a "morung" rather than to such and such a *mūphu*, for, though a "morung" never draws its inmates from more than one *mūphu*, a *mūphu* often contains more than one "morung," each occupied by one or more clans

Miscellaneous

The water supply consists of springs below the village in which the water is allowed to collect into little ponds Usually little effort is made to keep them clean, but sometimes they are fenced round to keep out cattle and pigs, and roofed over to prevent leaves falling into them They are redug every two or three years, a fowl or an egg being offered at the time Behind each "morung" a latrine for men and boys is screened off, the women visiting the jungle round the village The necessary scavenging is done by pigs, dogs, cattle and even barking deer, which often come up to within a stone's throw of the houses Indeed they are far commoner near a village than they are in the more distant stretches of jungle

The House and its contents

A noticeable feature of the Ao house is the way in which variations in structure indicate precisely the status of the owner² The details vary much from village to village, but a man with knowledge of the local custom can tell by a glance at a house exactly what feasts of merit the owner

strictness according to the occasion (usually a religious ceremony) which necessitates them—J P M

¹ I.e. a death by an accident or by a wild animal See p 293 *infra*

² Cf *The Angami Nagas*, p 51—J H H.

has given. The variations, however, are confined to the front of the house and the decoration of the roof, the plan of the main structure is always the same. It consists of a small front room (*chin* C, *tiyung* M) on the ground level, a large main room (*hukung* C, *ak: tetsung* M) on piles, and at the back a sitting out platform (*songlang* C, *sabang* M), also on piles. The villages being built in such a way that the houses face towards the top of the ridge, the bamboos supporting the platforms are often very long and a pedestrian passing along the back of a row of houses sees nothing but a forest of poles crowned with platforms far above his head. Wealth is on the whole so well distributed among the Aos that apart from the wretched hovels of old widows the houses vary little in size. The sites, too, in the crowded villages are so restricted that, even if he would, a man cannot spread himself much. All soil has long since gone from these ancient sites and a builder sets up his posts in the holes in the rock where former occupants set up theirs. An average house measures 25 feet long by 14 feet broad with a platform at the back measuring 11 feet long by 14 feet broad. The back and front are square and the roof of thatching grass or palm leaves. The ridge of the roof runs out along the projecting roof tree and forms a little flying gable in front. Planks are not used at all the walls and floor of the house being made of strong bamboo matting, save the floor of the outer room, which is of beaten earth. In this outer room are kept the rice pounding table (*semk:* C, *acham* M) cut from one piece of wood and exactly resembling that of the Lhotas,¹ bamboos for holding water (*tsitshi* C and M) spears stuck up by the centre post and an odd assortment of baskets and other cumbrous gear. Two or three steps (*chin apu* C, *langba* M)—often only notches cut in a sloping log—lead up to the main living room. The floor of this room is of interlaced split bamboos sup

¹ Cf. *The Lhota Nagas* p. 35—J. P. M.

An identical form of mortar is found not only throughout the Nagas tribes but in Borneo (Hose and McDougall *op cit* I 118 and II frontispiece). In the Philippines the Igorot seem to use a mortar very much cruder in form (Jenks *op cit* Pl. CXII) but intermediate between that described and the simpler form used by the Chins (Carey and Tuck *op cit* pl. 6 p. 210) by the poorer of the Nagas and by the Tinguan (Cole *The Tinguan* Pl. LVII) made of a vertical section of a tree and containing only one hole for the pestle—J. H. H.



STREET IN SANORATSÚ VILLAGE SHOWING POOR MEN'S HOUSES



STREET IN NGEMA VILLAGE SHOWING RICH MEN'S HOUSES

ported on poles. Much of the dust falls through and these bamboo floors contrast favourably with the filthy, flea ridden earth floors of some tribes. In the middle is a hearth (*atap* C and M) of beaten earth, furnished with three stones for supporting cooking pots. The ceiling (*chungbang* C, *tsubang* M) is of bamboo matting, and in a well to do man's house has stuck into it many skewers of dried meat, half cured pig's fat, dried skin, dried fish and other dainties, put there to be out of the way of rats. From the main ceiling beam immediately above the fire are suspended one above the other three bamboo trays (*chikan* C, *lostu* M). Now to hang a dry bamboo tray so close over a fire that sparks continually reach it is obviously to ask for trouble, and the custom is probably responsible for most of the fires which sweep so disastrously through the crowded Ao villages. But after a fire the houses are rebuilt with the trays in the same dangerous position. "Our fathers' fathers so built, and so build we" is all the answer a protest calls forth. Certainly the trays are useful. Meats to be smoke-dried is hung under the lowest tier, and they are crowded with pots, spoons, parcels of salt, baskets of chillies and the hundred and one things which the mistress of the house wants ready to hand. On the walls are shelves (*purr* C and M) for odds and ends. One corner of the main room is often partitioned off and used as a little store room (*mopungli* C, *mobungli* M). The beds (*langbang* C, *ypchen* M) are often hewn out of one piece of wood, but are not as massive as Semai beds. A ridge of wood serves as a pillow, and the head end is often on slightly longer legs than the foot. The husband's bed is by the fire, and there is often another bed for children by the wall. From the main living room a door leads directly on to the back platform, which is used as a general sitting out place by the family. The daily supply of rice is spread out on mats on it to dry ready for pounding, and here the wife sits and weaves while the children play. It would give an English nurse a fit to see the way in which tiny tots stagger about close to the edge. There is nothing in the way of a railing but it is very, very rarely that a child falls over.

It is the front portion of the house which indicates the

social status of the owner. Generally speaking there are three stages. A man who has given the first feast of merit extends his eaves, the second feast of merit entitles him to a semicircular apse in front, supported by a carved post, while after the third feast of merit a Western Ao brings the roof of the front apse right down to the ground, converting the space in front of his house into what is practically an extra room (*kima lilu* C, *libang wabuk* M), where he sets up the carved posts which commemorate his feasts. The house then closely resembles a "morung," in accordance with the rule which seems to prevail among Lhotas, Aos and Konyaks that a "morung" is in shape a glorified edition of a rich man's house.¹ So that one finds, as one would expect, that among the Eastern Aos the rich men's houses, like the "morung," do not have a front apse reaching to the ground, but have eaves extending forward and supported on posts, the number and ornamentation of which indicate the status of their owner. In some Western Chongli villages a man who gives a further feast of merit beyond the usual three builds a bamboo platform inside the *kima lilu* of his house.

The Construction of a House

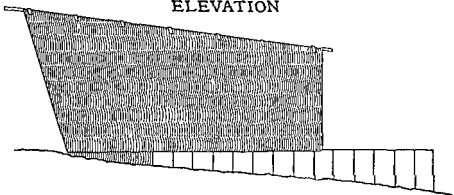
The simple house which a young man builds at the time of his marriage—and hence before he has given any of the feasts of merit which entitle him to add further embellishments—will serve to illustrate the methods of construction. No particular orientation is favoured. (The only rules are that a house may not be built exactly opposite a house across the street, or evil influences will be wafted straight out of the door of one house into that of the one facing it,² nor should the front gable of your house be lower than that

¹ Among the Semas the chief's house actually replaces the "morung" for ordinary purposes (*The Sema Nagas* p. 37) and similarly with the Mikurs (Stock and Lyall *The Mikurs* p. 11), cf. also Shakespear *Lushes Kuki Clans* pp. 143-193. But in the case of the Ralte Kukis apparently the "morung" (*zawlbuk*) which used not to exist is now coming into fashion (*ibid.* p. 140). The similarity of use and construction between the "morung" and the chief's or rich man's house is natural enough if both are survivals of the same communal building.—J. H. H.

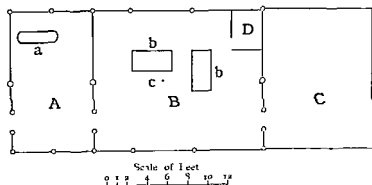
² So among the Thados no one would dream of building a house facing down the village street as all the spirits wandering about would be quite certain to drift in.—J. H. H.

AN ORDINARY AO HOUSE

ELEVATION



PLAN



A = CHIN

B = KILUNG

C = SONGLAT 3

D = MOPUNCKI

c = Pounding table

bb = Beds

c = Hearth

ceremonies have been performed the builder and his friends set to work, and generally contrive practically to finish the house within a day. First the lines of the walls are marked out. Next one of the posts¹ is put up. This is always the left-hand one (to a man entering the house) of the three posts of the partition between the outer room and the main room. These side posts are called *tongni* (C) or *tongpi* (M), the centre posts being *tongsi* (C) or *tongla* (M). According to the Chongli custom the builder cracks an egg against the post which is first erected and says: "If fire catches this house may it become water. Let there be no illness or sickness here." He eats the contents of the egg, and wrapping up the shell in an *amchi* leaf ties it to the post. He is then "genna" (*anembong*) for six days. The Mongsen custom is slightly different. The builder breaks the egg before the post is set up and says: "Let this site be fortunate. Let there be no illness or sickness." He cooks the yolk in a leaf and throws three little scraps of meat in front of him and to his right and left, and then gives his father the yolk to eat; the shell is put into a little basket and tied to the first *tongpi* as soon as it is erected. As usual the builder is "genna" (*kimung*) for six days.²

might be added *stercus, nisi decrescante luna, ne tangito*, on which the commentator in my copy adds "*Hoc nimirum est, quod Germanicus Caesar suis commentariis scribit in Aratum, augmenta detrimentaque lunae non solum terram sentire, sed et lapides, et cerebra, et laetamina* (i.e. 'dung'), *quae lunae crementis ejecta vermiculos pariunt*." *denique lunae crementis abscissa ligna surfuraceis tinearum terebramentis fistulascere* Hadrian Jun c 20 6." I would also refer to Dennys, *Folk Lore of China*, p 118, where he mentions that peat cut in the wane of the moon will only produce "a power of smoke," while meat butchered by a Highlander at the same time of the month is good for nothing but "shrinking in the pot."

From my own experience I cannot help thinking that there may be some truth in the idea that if certain plants are cut in certain phases of the moon they are more liable to be attacked by insect pests, though unless it could be that some insects hatch out at monthly intervals, I do not pretend to offer an explanation, and I am prepared to admit that I may be merely subconsciously tainted with the belief, because it is an inseparable part of the thought of the majority of the persons with whom I come in daily contact, and who take for granted that their belief is based on one of the commonest and most obvious of natural phenomena — J. H. H.

¹ No post may be cut from a tree which has been struck by lightning, nor from one which branches into two equal stems above ground nor which has a running wound — J. P. M.

² *Anembong* C, *kimung* M — J. P. M.

All now set to work, and the main and side posts are put up and the supports for the floor (*alam*) The floor itself is next fixed, but earth is not laid on it for the hearth, nor, among the Mongsen, is the back platform built, till the actual wedding day. The floor having been laid, long bamboos (*purrlang* C and M) are placed along the top of the side posts and tied in position with split cane. The main ceiling beam (*chungbangsong* C, *tsübangtong* M) is bound in position with cane near the top of the centre posts. This beam, for which the Chongli use a long bamboo and the Mongsen wood, later supports the bamboo matting ceiling (*chungbang* C, *tsubang* M) and the trays which are hung over the fire. The roof is next attended to. A long roof tree (*song* C, *aphung* M) is laid and bound along the top of the centre posts. A portion of it projects in front of the house and, when thatched, forms a sort of flying gable. Rafters (*ayen* C, *tsülep* M) are next fixed, and across them purlins (*yukya* C and M). To keep the rafters in position a long bamboo is laid over them to hold them down on to the roof tree, and two other bamboos to hold them in position against the sides of the roof tree. In the same way long bamboos are laid over them to hold them down on to the *purrlangs*. Further, to strengthen the roof, three cross ties (*kilap* C, *melang* M) are put in, one above the other, above the door, at the partition between the inner and outer room, and above the back door. The framework of the house being now complete, the ceiling is first put in, and then the side walls (*tipchara* C, *tiyp* M) of strong interwoven split bamboos, the house being still left open at the ends. Thatch (*azi* C, *ayi* M) is next laid. For this the common Naga method is adopted of making thick fringes of thatch held together by lengths of split bamboo, and fixing these fringes in lines one above the other beginning at the eaves, so that each line overhangs the one below it. To finish off the roof thatch (*libanglung* C, *libanglungang* M) is doubled over the roof tree all along, so that the top row of fringes is effectively protected and a flying gable formed at the front of the house. All the thatch is firmly held in position by split bamboo wind ties.

(*liyongkamistü* C, *liyongkaptstü* M) The house is then closed in, first the wall at the door end (*kima litangr* C, *kima tsungtr* M) is put up, then the partition between the outer and inner rooms (*kuyongba litongr* C, *kuyongba tsungtr* M), and finally the back wall (*songlanglitangr* C, *litangr tsungtr* M) The Chongli also put up the back platform on the day on which the rest of the house is built, instead of waiting till the marriage day as the Mongsen do

The house is now left empty till the day on which the young couple are to occupy it Should any jungle cat, or civet, or other wild animal get in and leave its droppings in it serious evil is foreboded On the day of the marriage the final touches are put to the house by the owner and his formal friends Shelves are fixed up, earth is laid down for the hearth, and, among the Mongsen, the back platform is built

The ceremonial and procedure followed when a rich man rebuilds his house are essentially the same as that described above, the only difference being that instead of a preliminary offering of an egg he sacrifices a pig, which goes to feed those who help him in his work

Manufactures

Spinning and weaving

A poor chance of getting a good husband would an Ao girl have who did not know how to spin and weave and make clothes for the family It is one of her most important duties, which it is absolutely forbidden for a man to share,¹ with the exception that the spots of dark blue with which white "lengta" bands are often decorated are invariably embroidered by a man and never by a woman The method of spinning in use among the Aos is precisely the same as that found among the Semas and Lhotas The cotton is seeded by rolling a round stick (*menongrtong* C, *naklong* M) over it on a flat stone (*lungmitsok* C, *khambanokpodong* M) This laborious task usually falls to the lot of old women who, being no longer able to go down to the fields, eke out

¹ But the man manufactures the necessary implements Cf Hose and McDougall, *op cit*, I 221—J H H

an existence in this way. Nowadays a little seeding machine consisting of two wooden rollers geared to revolve in opposite directions and turned with a crank is coming into common use.¹ Such machines are usually imported from the plains, but a few villages, such as Asangma, make them. The cotton having been seeded, it is carded by being flicked with a little bow (*eyetsong* C; *aiya* M), and is rolled into sausages (*miti* C; *khamba meti* M) of a convenient size for spinning. The spindle (*pang* C; *apang* M), like that of Lhotas, Semas and other tribes, consists of a long pen-shaped piece of wood, with a stone spindle-whorl. The stones are ground to the proper shape on other stones and bored with a spear-butt twirled between the hands. To spin the operator places the lower end of the spindle in a broken piece of pot, or a little basket covered with a bit of rag, and spins it with a drawing motion against her right thigh, feeding it meanwhile from a sausage of wool held in her left hand. The thread (*ang* C; *ayang* M) collects above the stone until the spindle is full. It is then taken off, damped with cold water, and vigorously pounded on a board with a rice pounder, and, after being soaked in rice water and dried, is rolled into a ball (*anglung* C; *yanglung* M). The Ao loom (*takralilamsü* C; *tukahilamsü* M) is a tension loom of the simple Indonesian type found among the Semas and Lhotas.² The woman keeps the

¹ This machine is common in the plains of Assam and of Burma. It is in regular use in Manipur and has for a long time been used by Kukis and by Kacha Nagas, from whom the Angamis also learned the use of it. It is still unknown to the Sema, Rengma and Lhota, and to the transfrontier tribes to the east. It is in use in Borneo, *vide* Hose and McDougall, *op cit.*, pl. 118, though this photograph looks as if the Iban machine lacked the geared wooden screws, as the handles seem intended to work in opposite directions; the text (p. 221, Vol. I) is not explicit on the point. The geared form is used in the Philippines (Cole, *The Tinguian*, Pl. LXIII. and p. 417).—J. H. H.

² Ling Roth describes the Indonesian loom as belonging to the Pacific type (*Studies in Primitive Looms*, p. 65). The pattern used by the Aos is common, I think, to all Nagas that weave, as well as to other tribes in the same area. The most nearly related looms outside Assam and Burma seem to be the Dusun and Iban looms in Borneo, while the Santa Cruz loom and the Bhutia loom are pretty near. Both the Dusun and the Iban weavers, however, use the spool form of shuttle, whereas Nagas use the uncased shuttle form, used by the ancient Greeks (Ling Roth, *op cit.*, p. 5). I have, however, once seen the spool form, made of a simple piece of small bamboo split in half, used by the Nzemi of Pulomi (Kenoma).—J. H. H.

necessary strain by sitting with a belt (*aphi* C and M) in the small of her back, attached to a bar (*anen* C, *mechang* M) from which the warp (*lutong* C and M) runs to the beam (*mongmong* C and M), itself firmly attached either to the wall of the house or to two stakes fixed in the ground. The heddle (*anetlong* C, *netlong* M), lease rod (*yimlong* C and M) and bar above the lease rod (*angnai* C, *yangnai* M), round which the warp is twisted once, are exactly the same as the corresponding parts of the Lhota loom. The shuttle (*sheksen* C, *yangsung* M) is shot through by hand, and the woof (*lenten* C, *lentenmuphiba* M) beaten up with the sword (*alam* C, *anem* M), which is rubbed either with wax or with a very fine white powder, like French chalk, found on the underside of the leaves of a species of wild plantain. The patterns in cloths are obtained by the necessary combinations of different coloured threads in the warp and woof. Small spots of embroidery and little tufts of red hair are worked in with a porcupine quill while the cloth is being woven. To sew the strips of cloth together for body cloths or to darn holes steel needles from the plains are now commonly used. But the old Ao needle (*achem* C *yimpen* M) is still to be seen at times. It is simply a thin splinter of cane or bamboo with a split end on to which the thread is twisted or stuck with a little wax.

Dyeing

Blue and red are the only two colours which the Aos know how to dye. The former varies from light blue to almost black according to the strength of the dye used. It is obtained from the leaves of *Strobilanthes flaccidifolius* (*osak* C, *mosak* M) which is cultivated for this purpose both in plots in heavy, shady jungle and in the sun. Leaves grown in shade and in sun being needed at different stages of the process. The method of preparing and using the blue dye is as follows. Leaves of plants grown in the shade are pounded up and spread out on trays to dry. After being kept in the house for a month or two they are ready for use. They are then put into cold water and well stirred and left

to soak for three days. On the third dry wood ash is stirred in,¹ and in the evening the cloth or thread which is to be dyed is put in and left there till the morning, when it is taken out, rinsed, and hung up to dry. If the colour is not considered dark enough it may be soaked again for another night. To finish it off it is then boiled in water with unpounded leaves from plants grown in the sun. This process, too, may be repeated more than once. The best dark blue cloths are made of thread which has been subjected to both cold soaking and boiling before weaving. But like the careful English housewife who gets Pullars to obliterate the stains and dirt of years with a coating of dye, or who, finding a yellow jumper rather wearisome after a time, unexpectedly appears in a plum confection of suspiciously similar form, the Ao who thinks his white cloth is really getting rather dirty—and when he thinks that, it is dirty—gets his wife to dye it dark blue. Cloths dipped in this way are only soaked in the cold dye and are not cooked. While dyeing is going on no stranger may watch or the colour will not take.

The native red dye is now being fast superseded by a red powder sold in bazaars in the plains. Only old women can dye thread or hair red. The colour being that of blood, were a young woman to use red dye she might lose her head in a raid or die a violent death. The dye is obtained from the root of a creeper called *aozu* (C) or *auualu* (M).² This is thoroughly dried and pounded, and mixed with the dried and pounded leaves of a tree called *tangshu* (C and M) and the outer husks of the acid berry of a tree known as *tangmo* (C) or *tangba* (M).³ Water is added to this mixture and the thread or hair which is to be dyed is boiled in it for about half an hour. It is then taken out and dried and brushed clean. Another dye is also used in Longsa for thread, but not apparently for hair, for which it is considered unsuitable.⁴ The process, which is not known in the Mongsen group, is as follows. The thread is boiled with

¹ Cf. the Burmese method of preparing indigo dye (Scott and Hardman *op cit* I ii 370-380)—J H H

² Probably *rubia sikkimensis* (Kurey)—J H H

³ Probably *rhus semiculata* (Murray)—J H H

⁴ Probably *rubia cordifolia* (Linn.) cf. *Man* XXIII, No. 22—J H H

the seed of the oil seed plant (*azü*),¹ and left soaking in the cold brew for two or three days. When taken out and dried it is pale brown. Next it is boiled in an infusion of the pounded leaves of the *lotsam* tree and bark of the roots of the *chonglong* tree. This turns it red. When sufficient colour has been imparted it is taken out, rinsed in cold water, and dried.

Painting on Cloth

Longsa practically holds the monopoly of the decoration of the median bands of *tsungkotepeü* cloths. The pigment is prepared as follows. The sap of a tree called *chenglo* (C) or *tangko* (M) is mixed with very strong rice beer and the ash either of its own leaves or of bamboo leaves. The result is a grey fluid which is applied with a pointed piece of bamboo. The operator works free hand, guiding himself by the lines of thread. The pigment dries a dead black and withstands the ravages of time and weather well. The same pigment is used in some villages to adorn "lengtas" with patterns and roughly drawn figures of dogs and cocks and hens and so on.²

Pot making

Strictly speaking it is "tabu" for any Ao other than a woman of the Changki group to make pots.³ But now adays married pastors from Changki have spread all over the Ao country and it is not uncommon to find Chongli and Mongsen Christian women who have learnt to make pots. The non Christians, however, still observe the old restriction and obtain their cooking pots either from Changki or the Ynom country. In Changki the method of making pots is as follows. Red and grey clay are mixed, with a slightly larger proportion of the former, and well kneaded with water.

¹ Cf. the Burmese again (Scott and Hardiman I. 11. 381). As far as I know *sessamum* is not used in any Angami or Manipuri process.—J. H. H.

² See p. 34 *supra*.

³ So in the Manipur Valley I think pot making is confined to the Loi villages of Charel and Shuganu though many of the Nagas in the neighbouring hill villages also make pots.—J. H. H.

A mass large enough to make a pot is then taken and worked on a board into the shape of a large round bun. This is picked up and rammed on to the left fist, the flat bottom being towards the fist. It is then slapped and worked with the right hand till it forms a sort of cap over the clenched left hand. Next it is put rim upwards on the ground, and further worked with the damped fingers of both hands, first with an upward scraping motion and then with a circular motion round the pot, the left hand being inside and the right outside all the time. When the rough shape of the finished article has been arrived at it is left in the sun to dry for an hour. Hitherto, the clay being very soft, nothing but the fingers has been used to shape it. After it has hardened a little in the sun the final shaping is begun. For this a mushroom shaped stop (*pulsturu*) of baked clay is held against the inner surface with the left hand and the outside tapped and smoothed with various shaping sticks till the requisite shape and thinness have been obtained. The first shaping stick (*puzükru*), which is used for the rough work is a narrow flat piece of wood with a smooth surface. Next a stick (*puyekru*) with broad ends, like a double paddle, is used. The four flat surfaces of the paddle ends of this are deeply grooved in squares and lozenges. This gives a rough surface to the pot and prepares it for the final smoothing stick (*ayektsungba*), which similarly has paddle shaped ends but with smooth surfaces. After drying for one full day in the sun the pot is ready for firing.¹ This is done either before dawn or after sunset as a rule, the reason being the universal Ao belief that fire is harder to control in the day than at night. To fire the pots they are piled on a very low platform of bamboo, and dry reeds put under and all over them.

¹ This method of pot making is entirely different from that followed by the Semas who roll the clay (blue) out flat and then build the pot with it (ride *The Sema Nagas* pp 53-54). The Ao method is more like that of the Borneo tribes (Hose and McDougall *op cit* I 220). The Igorot seem to combine the Ao with the Sema method (Jenks *op cit* p 117 sqq and plates LXXXIX to XCII) and also mix the red and blue clay as the Aos do the blue clay being said to add temper to the too porous red. The Tinguian method (Cole *The Tinguian* p 428) is the same as the Bontoc Igorot. The Ao method seems to be that followed in the Solomons (Brown *Melanesians and Polynesians* p 205) but the practice of it in the Pacific seems to be very erratic (*ibid* p 434 sqq) — J H H

and lighted. There is no restriction as to strangers being present, nor is any particular food barred to the workers at any stage of the proceedings. The pots when finished are round bottomed, with an overturned rim for lifting them off the fire. No ornamentation of any kind is applied.

Wood work.

Considering the tools he has the Ao is a pretty skilful wood-worker. Carving in the round is usually very rough, but the conventional men, tigers, hornbills, pythons, mithan heads and so on in very high relief with which "morung" posts are adorned are excellently done, especially in the Eastern villages where the influence of the Konyaks, themselves very skilful wood-carvers, is strong. A post which is to be so treated is first roughly squared with a "dao." The outline of the figure desired is then sketched with charcoal and the rest of the surface cut away sufficiently to leave it in high relief. "Daos" or adzes (*atambang* C; *changba* M) are used for most of the work, awkwardly placed pieces of wood being picked out with an adze blade fastened to a long handle and used as a chisel, when it is called *changba* (C) or *uchangba* (M). Any colouring required as a final touch is supplied by pig's blood and soot, while a fiercely striped tiger is often given a pair of "goo-goo eyes" composed of black seeds¹ surrounded by pig's bristles. The adze and "dao" are also the tools used for making both the huge xylophones and small dancing drums. Fire is never used to assist in the hollowing process. "Dao" holders are often ornamented either with a pierced pattern or with carvings in low relief of heads, snakes, etc. For this finer work smaller tools are required. A small chisel (*atambang* C and M) made from an old "dao" tang sharpened down is used to cut out the slits for the "dao" and "dao" belt. The finer carving is done with sharpened *chabili*. Wooden dishes (*suchong* C; *sungphu* M) are carved out from the solid and polished with a rough leaf called *poktsok* (C and M). A cheaper, lighter dish (*aosu* C; *aowaphu* M) is made of bamboo, and is to be seen

¹ Probably of *Sapindus detergens* as a rule, a round, glossy, black seed, the size of a marble.—J. II. II.

- 1 Carved and painted board (horizontal) over house door in Longsa village (hornbills, human heads, ancient ' dao ' etc)
- 2 Carved pillar in ' morung ' at Mongsenyimtı (snake and frog)
- 3 and 4 Carved pillar outside " morung " at Mongsenyimtı Fig 3 is upper part and fig 4 lower part of pillar (monitor lizard, hornbills and tiger) .
- 5 Carved serow on rich man s house post, Chuchu Yimlang
- 6 Tiger carved on an inside pillar in Chonglı khel " morung," Mokongtsu (note the single eye) The drawing is inverted to fit the plate
- 7 Tiger carved on " morung " pillar at Mongsenyimtı This is also inverted to suit plate
- 8 Unusual tiger design on pillar supporting roof of sitting out place at Salulamung
- 9 Hornbill in complete relief, Chamır ' morung," Chantongia
10. Two intercoiled snakes carved in relief at base of a pillar in a " morung " at Chuchu Yimlang



Balfour

in every house. A section of bamboo free of nodes is cut and shaved down till it is very thin. Then it is split down one side and warmed over the fire until it can be opened out flat. Two slits are then cut at each end and the ends folded up like the ends of a paper parcel and laced in place with cane.¹

Leather work.

Though his Chang neighbours across the Dikhu make shields of hide dried and dressed with the sap of a tree, which gives a polished surface, drying in the sun is the only way known to the Ao of treating a skin. Even so hides are very little used. An animal is not ordinarily skinned before it is cut up; indeed boiled hide is considered rather tasty. Shields of dried skin are, however, occasionally made, and formerly skins were sometimes scraped and soaked and sewn up when wet to make bags. They were then dried stiff. A waterproof case for a "flint and steel" box is still sometimes made out of the skin of a goat's testicles. The skin is soaked and shrunk on to the bamboo case² and the top edge caulked with *Ficus* sap.

Metal work.

Formerly no metal was worked at all by Aos. But seven or eight generations ago³ a body of immigrants wandered up from the plains and built villages by the water in the valleys of the Mening and Tsurong. Four generations ago these strangers from the plains departed down the valley of the Melak, leaving behind four men, who settled in Kulingmen. From there one went to Chungtia and one to Mubongchokut. All four adopted Ao customs and two at least, one at Chungtia and one at Kulingmen, are known so

¹ The Lhotas use the same type, and cf. also *J.R.A.I.*, XI, pl. XXV, No. 6, and p. 277, figuring a similarly made utensil from the Nicobars — J. H. H.

² The Thado Kukis make exactly the same thing in the same way, but also use the same method for many other hide articles — J. H. H.

³ I.e. about 1706 apparently, when Rudra Singh, the Ahom king, attacked the Kacharis at Maibong, marching on them via the Dhansiri and the Kopili valleys (Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 249), where there may have been still some Kachari settlements in sympathy with Maibong, or it may have been a generation earlier, when Mir Jumla's expedition against the Ahom kings must have greatly disturbed the population of the plains — J. H. H.

far to have abandoned their Hinduism, if they ever professed any, as to perform the mithan sacrifice. These four men were absorbed into Ao clans and they and their descendants were the smiths of the Ao country. One Ungma man learnt from them and became a blacksmith, but until the last few years he and his descendants were the only true Aos so revolutionarily minded as to adopt a trade unknown to their forbears. Nowadays the breaking down of old custom under the influence of the American Baptist Mission and the establishment of the Fuller Technical School at Kohima have led to the starting of a considerable number of small smithies in the Ao country. The technique calls for no comment. Bellows (*misembong* C; *michembong* M) of the ordinary Naga type are still used in some villages.¹ Pistons covered with feathers arranged tip downwards to give the necessary valvular action force air down two bamboo cylinders. At the bottom the two bamboo outlet pipes are embedded in clay and unite at the fire. All the other tools used are of foreign manufacture. "Daos" are made in some villages, but are not as a rule considered as good as those imported from the plains or from the Konyak country. Blades for axes, hoes and sickles are the articles most commonly made. Pipes of thick tin or sheet brass obtained from the plains are made at Chungtia. A spade-shaped piece of metal is cut out, heated and bent, the

¹ The Aos also have a single piston bellows, which I have not yet seen in any other tribe, but Woodthorpe saw and sketched it in a Miaotsü (a tribe which exposes its dead like Aos) village on the Siam frontier in 1895, the only other reference to this form that I have ever met. This Ao piston is horizontal instead of vertical, and as far as I remember the piston drives the air through one hole on being pushed in and through the other on its return journey, so that the cylinder, which is made of wood, must be closed at both ends instead of at one only, but it is long since I saw it. I think a model sent by me will be found in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford. The double piston type, on the other hand, is used by all the Nagas and Kukis I am acquainted with; it is in general use in Burma (Scott and Hardiman, *op. cit.*, I, 11: 407, 408), it is used in the Malay Peninsula (Skeat and Blagden, *op. cit.*, I, 384, 390); in Borneo (Hose and McDougall, *op. cit.*, I, 194, 195), in the Philippines (Jenks, *op. cit.*, p. 126, where he mentions it (n^o 1) as used also in Siam, and pl. CIX.), while Peal (*J.R.A.I.*, XXII, pl. XIV, fig. 2) includes Sumatra, Java, and Madagascar in its distribution. The double action of the Khasia bellows, and its two bamboo tubes acting on the fire through a flat and drilled stone (vide Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, II, ch. XXIX, and *cf.* *The Anjani Nagas*, p. 63. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 52) suggest that it is derived, in part at any rate, from the same original—J. II, II.

"handle" of the spade forming the stem, and the "blade" the bowl. A little bamboo mouth piece bound in with cane completes the pipe. Bracelets, women's head rings and heavy neck rings are cast from broken brass. Stone moulds are used. The inside is smeared with pig's fat and the molten metal poured in. The moulds are straight, and the bars when removed are again heated and bent, and finally finished off with a file. A little ornamentation, more or less of herring bone pattern, is put on with a chisel.

Stone work

Aos neither square nor carve stone, nor make any use of it as a building material. Spindle whorls are made from certain hard pebbles found in streams. The stone selected is ground flat on other stones, and bored with a spear butt twirled between the hands. The edges are then ground until it is circular. Pipe bowls of the kind called *moyapong* ("Sema pipe") by the Chongli and *alungmukhung* ("stone pipe") by the Mongsen are made in Longmisa and one or two other Chongli villages. The material used is a soft grey stone with a close grain. A conveniently sized piece is scraped down to the shape of a bowl with an old "dao" and hollowed out with a little chisel made out of a broken hoe. The hole in the bottom is made with a finer iron drill twirled between the hands. The outside is then rubbed down and smoothed on a stone and, after being smeared with rice water, it is left to be smoked on the bottom tray over the fire. Finally it is given two coatings of the sap of a parasitic tree called *charak* (C and M), which imparts to it a dull black colour. Corundum is found in the Khasia Hills and a little finds its way into the Ao country, where it is used in repairing crystal ear ornaments. Two or three small holes are bored on either side of the break with a fine pump drill and powdered corundum. The edges are then stuck together with gum, and thread bound tightly through the holes bored to take it.

Basket work

The making of baskets and mats, at which all Aos are expert, is a task reserved exclusively for men and boys.

Even among the Christians women do not make baskets—in fact among the many old prohibitions disregarded by converts I cannot think of any case, save that of the de-nationalised tattooist in Lungkhim (see p 31), in which either sex has taken up work previously assigned solely to the other sex. Split bamboo is the usual material used for both mats and baskets. A man will make a rough open work basket for temporary use in an incredibly short time, and throw it away when done with. Baskets meant for permanent use are usually of the cheel or twilled patterns, or of an open work pattern rather resembling the cane seat of a chair. The flat bottomed cylindrical baskets into which rice beer is strained are so closely woven as to be practically water tight. But to make doubly sure the inside is smeared with the sap of a variety of *Ficus* called *akhu* (C and M). The only instrument used in basket making is a spike (*yipro* C, *yipra* M) of cow dog or monkey bone. In the old days a bear's penis bone is said to have been used. But as the families of the users suffered magically thereby¹ and tended to die out the practice was abandoned.

Fire making

Long long ago fire and water fought. Fire could not stand before water, and fled and hid in bamboos and stones, where it is to this day². But some day they will fight again and fire will put forth all its strength and the Great Fire (*Molom*) which old men talked of long before the missionaries came, will sweep up from the banks of the Brahmaputra and burn all that there is upon the earth. Yet water will be the conqueror in the end and a great flood will follow the fire and cover the world for ever. When fire fled from water no one but the grasshopper saw where it had taken refuge. His great staring eyes however, took in everything and he saw it go and hide in stone and bamboo. In those days men and monkeys alike had hair. And the grasshopper told the

¹ An ill-natured Tlalo with a grudge against a village sometimes puts the bone from a bear's penis in the village spring with the result that all the girls become *enquete* on the least possible provocation having drunk that water.—J. H. H.

² Cf. Hodson *Naga Tribes of Manipur* p. 10.—J. H. H.

matches sold everywhere in Assam For ceremonial use matches are strictly forbidden to all For making "new" fire for a ceremony the fire thong is ordinarily used, though some Mongsen villages allow iron and stone to be used on any ceremonial occasion other than the first firing of jungle on "jhumms" For that the fire thong is *de rigueur* everywhere

Currency

Though trade is usually carried on either by barter or with coin of the realm, two forms of old currency are still to be found, one in use and one obsolete The form which is still in use consists of round brass discs (*laya* C and M) about twelve inches in diameter, with a slightly convex surface These are not used for trade between one Ao and another, but for transactions with Konyak, Phom and Chang villages Modern discs, which are made in the plains and imported, are worth about Rs 2 each and are darker in colour than old specimens¹ which are more highly prized and are reckoned as equivalent to Rs 4 or Rs 5 The obsolete currency is in the form of strips of iron about six or seven inches long The shape is roughly² that of the old long tanged "dao" of which a few specimens still survive,³ and it seems pretty certain that they were derived from that weapon Indeed Dr Clark in his *Ao Dictionary* gives as an alternative to the common name *chabili* (C and M) the word *noklang*, which means "a single dao" This word appears to have gone out of use since Dr Clark wrote, for I have been unable to confirm his statement, but a bundle of one hundred *chabili* is still termed *noklang* ("long dao"), and the word "*noklang*" itself has come to be the ordinary expression for "one hundred" These *chabili* used to be made from an obsolete type of "dao" with a very tough edge called *shenchirongnok* (C) or *rangnok* (M) which was imported from the plains Though no longer used in trade,

¹ The modern *laya* is made of brass in the plains of Assam the old *laya* is an alloy, probably of brass and tin possibly sometimes of brass and silver which breaks if dropped where brass would merely dent It seems to have been cast on the Burma side probably by Singphos or by Shans—J H H

² Vide *The Angami Nagas* p 439—J H H

³ See p 60 *supra*—J P M

ceremonial distributions of *chabili* are still made at certain feasts,¹ and all well to do men feel it incumbent on them to keep a few bundles. They no longer have any value as currency.²

Trade

Salt, without which he cannot live, the Ao can only obtain in the plains. To barter for this necessity he takes down "pan," cotton, chillies, ginger, gourds, mats and the gum of a tree called *liyang* (C and M). Much of the salt so obtained is sold to Phoms and Changs across the Dikhu for pigs, fowls, etc. An Ao selling to trans frontier tribes in this way expects to make about 300 per cent on the transaction. A small quantity of salt from Naga salt wells reaches the Aos, but by a roundabout route. Konyaks take it down to Nazira in the plains and Aos buy it from there. It is valued more for its medicinal properties than as a condiment. A certain quantity of wild tea seed is taken down to the plains and sold to gardens. Hill "pan" is much appreciated by Assamese and Bengalees, large quantities are taken down by Aos themselves, but some is exported indirectly through Sangtams. Members of this tribe, who are always hard up, coming to work as casual labourers in the fields of "pan" growing villages, such as Chapvu and Nancham, are paid in "pan" leaves, which they take down to the plains and sell for far more than they would have received in cash from their Ao employers. Other "pan," chiefly from Longchang, goes to Kohima. Lhotrs from Tsingaki come for it and deliver it fairly fresh in Kohima bazaar, a hundred miles away, in three days. Besides salt large quantities of very imperfectly dried fish

¹ See p 378 *infra* —J P M

² There is a type of old *chabili* which has what may be described as a fish tailed handle and this taken with the general shape of the *chabili* gives a clear connection with the Khasi two-handed iron sword a weapon in length just about $\pi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ in which there is a projection on the back edge of the blade roughly corresponding to that on the *chabili* guards represented on the *chabili* by swelling in the stem and a flattened fish tailed end obviously to be stuck into the ground like the Garo sword (Playfair *The Garos* p 31, and plate facing p 32) and probably an improvement on an original pointed butt as less awkward to handle and shorter in length. Mr Mills has since found in an Ao village a similar weapon over 3 ft long —J H H

are brought up from the plains I suppose those engaged in the trade are used to it, but a European, if wise, does not follow too close behind a line of fish carriers. In the villages this dried fish fetches three times the price paid for it on the banks of the Brahmaputra. Only certain villages grow cotton. The surplus is either bartered for salt in the plains or, by villages far in, with other Ao villages for salt. Between Aos salt is sold for twice or three times its weight of uncleaned cotton, according to the amount of cotton available.

No Ao considers himself really well turned out unless he is carrying a spear ornamented with red goat's hair. These shafts are brought in for sale by men from Longla across the frontier who barter them if they possibly can for old worn out "daos". These "daos" in turn are traded through to Tobu and other Eastern Konyak villages, where smiths with stone hammers and the most primitive tools make from this scrap metal the superb long "daos" for which they are famous. Phoms and Konyaks are poor weavers and buy a large number of cloths from Ao villages on the Langbangkong. In these villages cloths of patterns specially admired by their trans frontier neighbours, but no longer worn by the Aos are made expressly for this trade, and on a fine day one may see the sitting out platforms "dressed" with cloths to catch the eye of a passing Phom. An Ao usually wears cloths woven by his wife, and if he buys a decorated cloth he must be careful to brush it six times with a bunch of nettles before putting it on, while he utters a prayer that all ill luck there may be in it may depart. A man of the Mongsen group goes further. Besides brushing it with nettles he lays it on a dog¹ before he wears it himself and prays that all misfortune attached to the cloth may pass to the dog and not to him. Ivory armlets, too, and crystal ear ornaments are dangerous things to buy. The purchaser on his return home must sacrifice a fowl and pray that since the ornaments have not been bought with stolen money but with wealth honestly come by, the wearer may live long to enjoy them. Aos scrape a shaving from a spear or pull a thread from a cloth before selling it.

¹ Cf. *The Sema Nagas* p. 11—J. H. H.

Ungma practically have a monopoly of the trade in cattle from the plains—miserable beasts as a rule, which are killed and eaten as soon as the rich grazing of the hills has put a little flesh on their bones. Lhotas bring them up in droves and sell them to Ungma at a flat rate of so much per animal, the Ungma trader disposes of them singly and aims at a profit of thirty to forty per cent on the deal. An Ao selling a cow or pig of his own pulls out one or two of its eyelashes and buries them in the earth of his hearth with a prayer that many animals may come to him to fill the place of the one he has sold. Mithan are not bred to any great extent by Aos, who thereby avoid many quarrels and claims for damaged crops, for the mithan is a most unruly beast. A few villages such as Ungr and Chuchu Yimlang buy them in the Phom country and in turn dispose of them to other Aos. An Ao on the Changkikong requiring a mithan would go to Ungr, for example, taking with him as go between (*lampur*¹ C, *langpathungoba* M) an old man who is experienced in detecting the little whorls² of hair and other marks which make a mithan useless for sacrifice. The old man receives about Rs 5 for his trouble, but if he makes a mistake and a "tabu" mithan is sacrificed the resulting misfortune does not fall on him but on the old man who spears it. Having selected an animal and agreed on the price the buyer goes home, leaving the seller to bring the mithan on a pre-arranged day. Should it die before it is delivered the loss falls on the seller, who, however, may be given a present of about ten rupees for his trouble. If all goes well the price agreed upon and certain customary additional presents are handed over on delivery.

¹ Cf. the Meithei (and I think Thado and Chang also) *lambu* with the same meaning, all from the root *lam* = 'a path'.—J H H

² Similarly the Dusuns of Borneo attach great importance to the whorls of hair on buffaloes (Evans *Studies in Religion, Folk lore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula* p. 39).—J P M

The position and nature of these whorls is a matter of great importance in some parts of India in choosing a horse. It is also apparently of importance in elephants. In *The Indian Antiquary*, July 1923 p. 172 Sir Richard Temple mentions that a white elephant captured at Mandalay in 1885 of which he had for a time official custody, was only so constituted by its having on it certain marks in the arrangement of the hair which constituted it a holy object and a 'white elephant' according to a set of carefully recorded and observed rules.—J H H

At first sight the profits made by Ao traders strike one as enormous. But there are certain factors to be taken into consideration. Most Aos do a little trading, but no one depends on it for his livelihood. There is no one who can wait for a small percentage of profit on a big turnover. A man whose sole annual commercial venture is a trip to the plains for twenty rupees' worth of salt wants a high percentage of profit, or it is not worth going. Out of that profit too he has to feed himself and his assistants while they laboriously carry the salt up into the hills, for there are no cart roads or railways in the country. There would be a big difference between the price of apples in the country and that of apples in Covent Garden if the growers had to carry them in. Then again, while an Ao selling salt to another Ao makes a high profit, he has to pay at the same rate when he buys dried fish which has been brought up from the plains. Many Aos grow rich by agriculture, but few by trade.

Loans.

While very little rice is sold in the Ao country, vast quantities are lent every year. A man does not tide over a poor harvest by buying rice, but by borrowing it. In fact he would probably have difficulty in finding anyone willing to sell to him. For were a rich man with full granaries to sell any of his store he would be laughed at and accused of being short of cash. But the more he lends the greater his reputation. In most villages the smallest amount commonly lent to any individual is six baskets. With interest this debt increases to ten baskets the next year, twenty the next and forty the next. After that interest ceases to accrue. In

them repayments are made. In this way stores accumulate which are never used as food, and men boast that they have rice in their granaries which is black with age. In times of scarcity rich men are often unwilling to lend at all for fear they will not be able to realise their debts. This is a serious thing, for many a man lives entirely on borrowed rice, only being able to grow enough rice each year to pay back what he borrowed the year before. At a crisis like this the village elders can issue an order that the rich men are to 'open their granaries' and lend. Similarly in times of general scarcity the elders of any village which has a good crop can disregard the general prejudice against selling rice and order rich men to sell to men from other villages who come to buy, "so that if ever we are famine stricken they shall sell to us."

Salt is not often lent, and when it is the debt carries no interest. Money, on the other hand, in theory, carries one hundred per cent per annum compound interest for ever. Of course interest at this rate is never realised. A debt may be doubled in a year, but usually a man is glad enough to get his capital back with low interest or no interest at all. The amount of money out at loan in the Ao country is very small and such a person as a regular moneylender is unknown.

Agriculture and the Ceremonies connected with it

The Ao is before everything an agriculturalist. Be he a mission teacher, a carpenter or a Government servant he farms his fields. Rice is his staple food. In it wealth is reckoned and from it he obtains his food and his drink. Nowhere in his country is the land such that millet and Job's tears alone will grow. He is a careless sower and a careless weeder, but the long gentle slopes with their thick covering of soil give him excellent crops, and, though times of scarcity occur, real famine is rare or unknown. Unlike the Sema who though a most careful cultivator, defeats his own ends by cutting down every tree and so ruining his already poor soil, the Ao is careful to leave enough trees standing to regenerate the jungle, and thereby enjoys land which is no nearer being worked out now than it was at



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make it even whiter than it was before. Nature resented this scorning of her gifts, and since then rice has always grown in the husk and must be laboriously pounded before it can be eaten. Now the Golden Age is but a memory kept alive in old folk's tales. In these degenerate days a man must labour hard to win a living from the soil. Nor does arduous toil in itself suffice. Many ceremonies must be performed without which all labour would be in vain. Spirits of the earth, dead ancestors, human herds, luck stones—all play their part. In fact there is hardly a ceremony in Ao religion which does not have some bearing on crops. To discuss them all under the heading of agriculture would be inconvenient. I have therefore selected those which are most closely connected with it, leaving the others to be described elsewhere.

The method of cultivation, commonly spoken of as "jhum" cultivation, is that practised throughout the hills of Eastern India and Burma. Blocks of jungle are felled, and, after being allowed to dry, are burnt. The ground is then dug over and the crop sown. After two, or occasionally three, successive crops the land is abandoned and allowed to go back to jungle for a period which, among the Aos, may be anything from eight to fifteen years, or occasionally even longer. Naturally the more land a village has the longer is its period of rotation.

Preliminaries

Usually a whole village cultivates in one block, though in the case of a very big village, such as Ungma, each "khel" may select a different area. This gregarious method has many advantages. It is easier to fence in a big block than a lot of small blocks, birds are not as destructive as they would be in small isolated patches in the jungle, and friends can conveniently help each other in weeding and in reaping. The whole village combines to keep the paths clear. In the area selected by the elders for the year every man probably has land of his own or a share in clan land. If he has not he can rent what he requires

First of all each man selects a site for his field house (*aluchen* C, *aluti* M) This must be no hasty choice, for on that site will be his place of sacrifice, his threshing floor, and the little house where he and his family will eat their midday meal every day—obviously a spot where every precaution must be taken against evil spirits. He must therefore remain chaste the night before and refrain from eating the meat of anything killed at a ceremony for sickness. In the morning he goes down alone and clears a little space. Then he takes the omens with a fire thong. He notes his dreams that night, and if they indicate that all is well he goes down alone again next day and offers an egg, if he is of the Chongli group, or a fowl, if he is of the Mongsen group, with a prayer that he may have good crops and be preserved from sickness. He eats the fowl himself, and if he does not finish it he must not bring what is left over into his house, but must eat it in the “morung”. On that day he clears the boundaries of his land. From the next day Mongsen men are at liberty to get on with their jungle clearing in earnest. The Chongli, however, take still further precautions. If there be any well known haunt of spirits (*tsungrem* C and M) near the path going down to the fields a black dog¹ must be sacrificed there by the village priests. Groups of neighbours, too, cultivating adjacent fields sacrifice in common a red cock at the junction of the main path and the track leading to their subdivision of the block. By this the land is purified.

Jungle clearing and burning

Jungle clearing does not take long. It is done in the middle of the cold weather, families helping one another in order that the work may be got through as quickly as possible. The big trees are merely lopped, and in some villages rich men leave a few branches uncut at the top. There is apparently no idea of leaving a place of refuge for jungle spirits, the practice is regarded as merely an

¹ Can this be in case the evil spirits should damage the crop by tampering with the rainfall? Black is the colour usually associated with offerings for rain (*vide* Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 290 sqq.)—J H H

indication of wealth,¹ and it is believed that should a poor man show such an impertinent spirit as to imitate his rich neighbours lightning would strike the trees of which he had left branches uncut. The jungle is left to dry till the end of February or the beginning of March and then fired. Men have not always known, it is said, how burning the jungle enriches the soil. They used to scrape the fields clean as best they could and raise their miserable crops on the land so cleared. The first man to burn jungle was Lutaba,² founder of the Lutabachar sub-clan of the Mongsen Yimchenchar clan. He got such magnificent crops that men have followed his example ever since. The most auspicious days for burning are the seventh or ninth days after the full moon. The stretch of dry, felled jungle is lighted from the bottom with a fire-thong; matches must on no account be used. The next day is *Alurongmung* (C and M)—“field-burning *amung*.”³

The field-house.

The ground being now clear, the first thing a man must do is to build the field-house which is to be his shelter and resting-place during all the weeks of toil which he before him. The Chongli custom is that the day after *Alurongmung* everyone who is not unclean for any reason goes down and sacrifices a fowl of either sex at his field-house site and sets up one post. The next day is *Alumestimung*—“field-purifying *amung*.” The Mongsen group keep no such *amung*. Among them men go down any time during the next five or six days from that on which the jungle was burnt, and sacrifice a fowl of either sex at their field-house

¹ But might not the idea as it now exists be the result of an association between the trees as the abode of jungle spirits and the prosperity of the rich? If I understand the Ao attitude aright the *aren* associated with the spirits would certainly be attracted to the fields, and therefore to the lopped trees, of the rich man, as *aren* always attracts *aren*. Hence it would be merely contemptuous for a poor man to provide lodgement for the spirits, and if they accepted it, it might mean less prosperity for the village crop as a whole—J. H. H.

² *Alu* = “cultivated field” in both Chongli and Mongsen—J. P. M.
Can he have since become a god of the produce of the earth—Lichaba—J. H. H.

³ *Amung* = “Sabbath.”—J. P. M.

sites, with a prayer that the evil influences of any animals or snakes burnt in the jungle may be powerless, and that bumper crops and good health may be granted. Each man is then "genna" for six days. No strangers may enter his house, he may not speak to a man from another village, he may not leave his village land, and he must remain chaste and refrain from unclean meats. At the end of these six days he goes down to his fields again and after offering an egg, sets up one post of his field-house and sows near it chillies, tobacco, lentils and so on, where they will be ready to hand later in the year. It is this setting up of the first post which is really important. At that time a man must be ceremonially clean, though it does not matter in what state of spiritual health he is when building the rest of the house. It is also important that the rich men of the village should build their field houses first, and the poor men later. This is because rich men are naturally endowed with *aren* (C and M)—that curious quality of innate prosperity in which the Ao believes so strongly. This virtue, by building their field houses first, they will impart to the whole block of cultivation.

* *The Phuchung ceremony*

The field house itself finished, the place of sacrifice in front of it must be prepared, where throughout the year the family offerings for good crops will be made. The Mongsen custom is as follows. The whole family goes down—for the ceremony is really more than anything a little family feast before the year's work begins in earnest—taking with them a little pig of either sex, a fowl of the opposite sex, and an egg. In front of the field house the husband sets up six sticks criss cross. In front of this structure (*aphu* C and M) offerings will be laid throughout the year and from it will be hung sacrificial rice beer cups made of leaves, and the baskets in which eggs and fowls have been brought down for the various ceremonies. Naturally, therefore, considerable precautions must be taken in making it. The sticks used must be cut from the jungle, and trimmed to the proper length before they are brought to the field house,

for were chips to be left about there they might be burnt by mistake, which would be disastrous. On the day when he puts it up the man offers in front of it six leaves of fermented rice, six leaves of boiled rice, six pieces of "clean" meat from his house, and six pieces of ginger. The pig is then speared in the right side with a sharpened bamboo,¹ a prayer offered for health and good crops, and six pieces of the liver added to the other offerings. The fowl, too, is killed and the omens taken from the entrails. With a curt announcement from the husband that "the spirits have eaten" the family falls to on the rest of the meat. The family are "genna" for six days after this feast, and then set to work to clear their land of burnt rubbish and to lay lines of logs to check the denudation of the soil.

The Metsüwaluk ceremony.

The old fields, that is to say the fields which were cut the year before and are now to be cultivated for the second time, are cleared of the weeds which have grown up since harvest before the jungle on the new fields is burnt. They are therefore ready for sowing first, and are sown immediately after the new fields are burnt and before the rubbish left by the fire is cleared up. The Chongli group initiate this sowing of the old fields with a ceremony called *Metsüwaluk*. Two village priests collect from rich men's houses (which are, of course, impregnated with *aren*) seeds of every kind. These they sow near the village path just outside the village. A pig of either sex is sacrificed and the priests and elders feast. The plot sown is carefully fenced round, but it does not seem to matter whether the seeds ever come up—they usually do not. The next day is *amung*.

The Aphasang ceremony.

It is after this ceremony that a Chongli man performs in front of his field-house a sacrifice corresponding to the Mongsen sacrifice at the setting up of the *aphu*. It takes place first when the *aphu* in the old fields is renewed, just before

¹ Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 229.—J. H. H.

they are sown, and again when a new *aphu* is put up outside the field house of the new fields. The family goes down with a little sow, a fowl of either sex and an egg. Having renewed or put up the *aphu*, the husband offers in front of it two leaves of rice, two leaves of ginger and two leaves of meat, one containing six little scraps and the other five. Then he addresses the spirits and says, "It is not the custom, but lest there be not enough meat for you all I add this," and puts another little scrap of meat in the leaf containing five. The pig is then speared in the right side with a sharp bamboo and little scraps of its liver offered. The fowl's throat is cut with a bamboo knife, and the egg is either offered at the foot of the *aphu* or, in the case of the *aphu* in the old fields, which is renewed on the day on which they are first sown, is broken over the seed rice.

* *Sowing ceremony*

Both the Chongli and Mongsen groups initiate the sowing of the new fields with a formal sowing by a village priest. The Chongli procedure is as follows. One of the village priests, who take it in turns to perform this ceremony year by year, goes about half way down to the new fields with a fowl of either sex and some seed rice. He clears a little space and sows the rice and fences it round. Then he kills the fowl by cutting its throat with a sharp bamboo and takes the omens. The fowl he cooks and eats, except for one leg which he puts in his basket and carries home. This leg will be required later. As he goes home he claims

man, therefore, of the latter group, on the day on which he first sows his new fields, goes down with his wife and performs an additional ceremony called *Alutenten*, at which a fowl of either sex and an egg are offered at the *aphu*. Authorities appear to differ as to the most auspicious day for sowing. Some say it can be done any time after the tenth day from the new moon, but that from the full moon to the end of the month is best. Others say that the best day is the ninth from the day on which the moon is half-way to full, and that the next best day is the seventh day from this date. The seed is sown broadcast and the ground dug over with diggers (*meretsung* C; *achang* M).

The Moatsu ceremony.

Immediately after the sowing is finished the *Moatsu*¹ ceremony, the most popular ceremony of the Ao year, takes place. Though Merangkong is the only village I know of where the festival is nowadays a time of general licence, there are indications that this relaxation of restraint was once more widely spread. Everywhere sexual intercourse is forbidden on the first night of the festival, but is usual, though not essential, on the other nights. At Lungkam the young bucks of each "khel" go and drag off girls from the other "khel" in the evening, nominally to give them drinks, but often in reality for less innocent purposes. For dances every man must wear a new dao belt. These belts are given to unmarried men by their lady loves, and to married men by their wives—sometimes. Often, I fear, a man receives a belt from someone else's wife, while his own wife makes one for someone else's husband. At this festival, too, a man may wear ornaments to which he is not entitled. For instance no complaint could be made if a man of 2. dan, which can only sport one ivory armlet wears

¹ With all due deference to his unrivalled knowledge of the Chongli dialect I cannot agree with Dr Clark's derivation of the word *moatsu*. He regards it as a compound of *mo*—"young rice" and *atsu*—"divide," meaning that the young rice divides the cold weather from the rains. But *atsu* can also mean to "pull, stretch," and I feel pretty sure that the word means "young rice stretching," a derivation strongly supported by the practice of holding a tug of war. It is possible that Dr Clark did not know of this practice, for it is not in vogue anywhere near Molungyansen, where he settled—J. P. M.

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two Oceans of liquor are drunk, and no fines can be demanded for assaults "It is *Moatsü* time, it does not count" is the answer to all complaints Throughout it is the boys and young men of the "morung" who play a leading part, the priests and elders remaining very much in the background New skin is stretched on the dancing drums, the "morungs" are tidied up, and it is there that the inaugural feasts are held The tug of war which takes place in some Chongli villages is a particularly conspicuous feature of the festival The Chongli and Mongsen ways of celebrating the festival are somewhat different, and it will be necessary to describe them separately The Chongli procedure is as follows On the first day, which is called *Songpen*, the "morung" boys bring in the wood which will be required for cooking next day A few rich men kill a large pig each and distribute pork to their clansmen That night all the inmates of the "morung" must remain chaste and sleep in the "morung" instead of in the girls' houses In fact in some villages two young men of each phratry must remain chaste throughout the festival The next day, known as *Yati*, is the first day of general jollification and is observed as a very strict *amung* Boys of the "morungs" go and bring in the thick lengths of sword bean creeper¹ which will be used in the tug of war Games are played on this day, men throw sword bean seeds at little piles of the same seed, and women throw them at an upright stone Little boys and girls play together and make up the parties

¹ *Entada scandens* The huge pods and large number of great seeds in them borne by this creeper no doubt have caused its association with fertility, to which its use by the Angami at any rate for stupefying fish may have contributed It is used as a tally of loans (*Sema Lhota*) hung round the necks of young mithan (*Sema Lhota*) fastened as an ornament to enemy heads (*Konyak*) used as a ceremonial hammer for cutting the hair of boys back from their first head hunting raid (*Phom*) and used all over the hills for games such as those described *vide The Angami Nagas* p 103 illus., *The Sema Nagas* Index I *et alau* Mills *The Lhota Nagas* p 60 Hodson *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p 62 McCulloch *Account of the Valley of Munnipore* p 26 (referred to also by Dalton *Ethnology of Bengal*, p 50 and Hodson *The Meitlins* p 55) Shakespear *Lushai Hills Clans* p 39, Lewin *Wild Races of South Eastern India* p 102 Playfair, *The Garos* p 53 Marshall *Karen People of Burma* p 174 *et* cf also Hanson *The Kachins*, p 206 It is also used, though not exclusively, to make the ropes used to pull in phall c emblems in the Angami ceremonies called *Isei* and *Acchiesü* (*vide J R A I*, Vol LII p 53 *et* p 212 *et* p 277) —J H H



DANCE AT THE MOATSU ' CEREMONY, UNOMA VILLAGE



TLO DI WAR AT THE MOATSU ' CEREMONY, UNOMA VILLAGE

(To face p 116

in which they will work together in the fields when they get bigger. On this day the women make the new "dao" belts which the men will wear next day. In the afternoon each "morung" slaughters at least one cow and one big pig for which the inmates have subscribed. All the men in the village are invited to the different "morungs" and feasted, the inmates using the inner hearth and the visitors the one near the door only. The evening and most of the night are taken up with tug-of-war and dancing alternately, the men and women dancing in separate groups to different chants. The tug-of-war is on this wise.¹ On one side are the men and on the other the women,² while a swarm of little boys helps (or hinders) either side as they please. The pulling is not towards any particular point of the compass, and is not very serious. The women are allowed to pull down hill. Chanting all the while, each side allows itself to be pulled a reasonable distance and then pulls the other side back. Often the creeper is frayed at one end so as to make several ropes converging like a fan. This gives more men something to get hold of, and enables some buck who is particularly pleased with his get-up (for all are in full dress) to stand on the rope at the point where the strips converge and be carried about high above the heads of the crowd, the cynosure of female eyes. In villages where there is no tug-of-war the men of each "khel" dance

¹ Cf. Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, pp. 87, 168 (Tangkhu), 172 (Chirus); Shakespear, *Lushes-Kuki Clans*, pp. 166 sq (Kolhen—Old Kuki), Frazer, *Golden Bough*, IX, 173 sq (Khasis, Esquimaux), 175 (Burma), 177 (East Indies; Korea), 178 (Kamchatka, Dutch New Guinea), 180 (Morocco), 181 (N.W. India), 183 (Shropshire, Radnorshire). In all these cases Sir James Frazer associates the tug-of-war with the promotion of fertility by the expulsion of embodied evils, and cites as a similar case the association of the tug-of-war with death ceremonies in Burma (*op. cit.*, p. 175) (so also among the Chakma of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Lewin, *op. cit.*, p. 185), and the Shans (Woodthorpe, *Country of the Shans*, *Geographical Journal*, June, 1896). The idea of the pulling being to stretch the young crop and therefore make it grow is particularly applicable to this form of fertility ceremony, but seems to have got mixed up with other ideas as well, and in some cases to have become a mere rain charm (i. Ferrars, *Burma*, p. 184), or a mode of divination. In the Malay Peninsula it appears as a mere game (Skeat and Blagden, *op. cit.*, I, 64, 86). —J. H. H.

² In the Old Kuki form, apparently, men and women who are at liberty to marry pull against women and men whom they cannot respectively marry (Shakespear, *loc. cit.*, and cf. Hodson, *Primitive Culture of India*, p. 89). —J. H. H.

and a basket of fermented rice, and in return receives in alternate years a present of meat or the head of one of the animals killed. After keeping some of the meat in reserve for presents the boys of the "morung" divide up the rest, and eat a meal outside the "morung" in the evening. Later some of the old men of the "khel" come and are given meat and rice beer. These they consume outside while the boys sit inside and sing. When this is over the boys put out the fire in the "morung," pour water on the hearths, tear up the hearth stones and rush for the door, believing, literally, that the devil will get the hindmost. On the fourth day there is a dance in which women take no part. The upper "khel" comes down in procession to the lower "khel" and dances there. On the fifth day there is a similar dance in which the lower "khel" pays a return visit to the upper "khel". On the sixth day, the last day of the festival, both "khels" dance, each going towards the other. As everyone has been drinking hard for four days, the collision which often occurs is apt to develop into a free fight. This is the last day of *amung*. The next day the women go to the fields and work, while the men clear the paths. The Mongsens have no tug-of-war.

The Talenpusong (C) or Aluyimangpusong (M) ceremony

In the damp climate of Assam the clearing of paths is an important part of the routine of the agricultural year, for a neglected path becomes blocked in an incredibly short time with an impenetrable tangle of weeds and creepers. Like everything else in Ao life this path clearing must be initiated with due ceremonies. On the day which closes the *Moatsü* festival an old man called *ampong* (C) or *amungo* (M) who has remained chaste the night before, goes down towards the fields with sundry old cronies of like age, taking with him a pig and a fowl, and on the path makes the usual offering of meat, fermented rice, boiled rice, ginger and so on to the spirits of the path. He cuts the fowl's throat with a bamboo knife and slit open the stomach extracts and examines the entrails. From these he professes to be able to tell whether the crops will be good and whether

anyone will die before harvest. The pig is then speared in the right side with a sharp bamboo and a prayer offered for good crops and freedom from pestilence. The stomach and liver are eaten on the spot and the rest divided up and taken home. Meanwhile the rest of the male population of the village are busy clearing the path, the more distant sections being assigned to the young bucks and the portions conveniently near the village to the old men.

Weeding and Miscellaneous Ceremonies

From sowing to harvest the Ao is busy keeping his fields free from the weeds which, unchecked, would soon grow up and choke the rice. His hoe (*alulem* C, *aya* M) is nowadays usually a small hoop of iron with two pieces of bamboo attached to either end and crossing to form a handle.¹ A further development of the primitive form consists of a bamboo handle branching out into a fork, to the limbs of which the half circle of iron is attached. The primitive bamboo hoe is, however, still in use in many villages. To make it a piece of bamboo is cut half through and bent till the ends cross. These are bound together to form a handle and the hoe, after being dried and trimmed, is ready for use.

About a month after *Moatsü* the Chongli group perform a ceremony peculiar to themselves called *Chamecha* ("food deity calling"). In the morning one of the village priests goes to the place of sacrifice just outside the village fence, taking with him three parcels of meat wrapped in leaves, and a fowl. He offers one parcel of meat in the ordinary way, and holds the fowl while he prays for good crops and summons to his village the *aren* of all surrounding villages. He then kills the fowl and takes the omens from its stomach in the ordinary way. The moment he has finished a crowd of small boys, who have been watching, rush at him and push him to one side and scramble for the two remaining parcels of meat which they tear in pieces. In the village the priest of the Pongen phratry kills a bull outside the oldest priest's

¹ For the evolution of Naga hoes see *Man* July 1917, *Some Types of Native Hoes, Naga Hills*, by H. Balfour M.A.—J. H. H.

house and prays that the villagers may flourish and live to be as old as the sun. The bull is eaten by the priests and their assistants.

When the rice is a few inches high every village observes one day's *amung* called *Mosumung* (C) or *Amasumung* (M). This is supposed to prevent the young plants from withering. When the rice is about a foot and a half high the Mongsen group observe another *amung* called *Amarba misen phaba 'mung* ('rice plant insect catching *amung*'). The *misen* is a little brown beetle which is very destructive to young rice plants. On a day of which the elders give notice all in the village catch and kill a few of these pests, and throw them down outside the village fence as they come home in the evening. The next day is *amung*. It is now time for the paths to be cleared again. The usual pig is sacrificed with prayers for good crops. If blood flows from its mouth when the sharpened bamboo is pushed home it is a bad omen, but if food is found in its stomach the harvest will be a good one. A little work is done that day but the greater part is postponed till the morrow, which is devoted both to work and exhibitions of strength by the young bucks of the village. Jumping matches are held and competitions to see who can cut through the thickest stake with one stroke of his *dao* and parties of boys have mock fights. When the grain is coming into the ear threshing floors (*champak* C, *sampak* M) must be built. These are nothing but forward extensions of the field house. The framework is put up now, and the roof added when harvest actually begins. Were the threshing floor to be covered over now the grain would not ripen. Across the floor is fixed a long bamboo (*matsitung* C, *lam* or *kisu* M) at such a height that the workers can conveniently rest their arms on it while treading out the grain. This pole and its supports must never on any account be used for firewood. Once the mats for the grain have been spread on the threshing floor no water or instrument of iron except a sickle, may be brought on to it. It is by the favour of the dead who impart their *aren* to the living that the crops are good. Water is therefore forbidden because it is a river which

separates the dead from the living¹ and spears and "daos" must not be brought because they would frighten the spirits of the departed

Reaping ceremonies

Before harvest can begin certain public ceremonies must be performed. Among the Chongli the village priest who sacrificed the fowl at the *Tenten* ceremony brings again to the place of sacrifice the leg which he took home,² and says to the spirits, "I have not eaten my share of the fowl. Have you eaten yours? As I have refrained from eating so make birds and animals refrain from eating our rice." He then ties up the leg to the little fence he made at the sowing ceremony. There is no formal reaping in the Chongli ceremony. There is, however, in the Mongsen rites. Among them the village priests and two clan priests from each clan go to the place where the rice was sown at the *Tenten* ceremony. There a pig is sacrificed in the usual way. The senior village priest³ then reaps a few ears of the rice and puts them into his basket. He struggles home complaining of the weight, and his wife helps him to put down his load and remarks how exhausted he is with his heavy work and what a fine crop there is. He and his wife eat a little of this rice in the evening. The next day is *Chata'mung*, and for six days the priest is "genna." Then he goes down with all the men of the village and builds a fish weir, and bathes. The first big fish caught goes to him. From the sowing ceremony to the day on which he bathes and finally purifies himself in the river he may not repair his house or enter any house where there is sickness.

The village spirits having been approached with due ceremony it remains for each man to gain the favour of the spirits of his own particular piece of land. A Chongli man takes down a pig and a fowl of opposite sex and performs

¹ See p. 228 *infra*—J. P. M.

² See p. 114 *supra*—J. P. M.

³ Among most Angami and many Sema tribes the First Reaper must be a woman as in the Borneo tribes (Hose and McDougall *op cit* I. 110 *sq.*). Cf. *The Angami Nagas* p. 180. *The Sema Nagas* p. 217. With Lhotas too apparently a woman is preferred (Mills *The Lhota Nagas* p. 53)—J. H. H.

the *Aphusang* ceremony, just as he did before sowing. He then ties two leaves of boiled rice and two leaves of meat on to his basket and reaps a little rice with his left hand, the idea being that as he reaps slowly in this way, so his crop will be so big that he will take long to cut it. Then he ties an egg in a little basket on to the pole which crosses his threshing floor and threshes out what he has reaped, calling on his ancestors to come and empty loads of rice there while he tramples out the grain. This done he can reap in earnest. The Mongsien rites are more prolonged. The husband and wife leave the children at home and go down to their field, taking with them an egg and a basket each. Three leaf parcels of boiled rice and three of fermented rice are tied to the husband's basket. Having offered the egg at the *aphu* he reaps three or four ears with his left hand and throws them over his shoulder into the basket on his back, saying "May this harvest not be over soon. May I get a big crop from a small piece of ground." This rice he deposits on the threshing floor. He then goes with his wife and reaps a little more and threshes it together with the ears already deposited. This rice is taken home and half cooked before it is husked. It is then dried and husked and cooked again. No one may pick up grains and eat them while it is being husked, and the husband must eat the boiled rice first. As he does so he says "*Kha chao, miyang chao*"—"I eat bitter, I eat sweet." What is left must be eaten by the family. It can never be given to strangers. The family is "*genna*" for six days and then sets to work to get in the harvest.

Reapers cut the ears off with a very short stalk, gathering a bunch in the left hand and cutting with a small sickle (*ninak C, lai M*) held in the right hand. The ears are then thrown over the shoulder into the reaping basket (*mozlich C, maliba oben M*) on the back. Families combine at harvest and help each other to get their crops in quickly. Women and girls and elderly men reap while lusty young men go round with big baskets into which they empty the contents of each reaper's basket, taking what they have collected to the threshing floor. When all has been cut a

pig and fowl are again sacrificed and the customary offerings made at the *aphu*. The rice is then threshed by being trampled on and winnowed with a fan (*pirr* C, *apha* M) of bamboo matting, shaped rather like a sugar scoop. The grain is finally measured in measuring baskets (*metüchi* C, *khítak oben* M) and carried up to the granary. If the road be a long one it is dumped once or twice on the way, the object being to lose no time in getting the rice away from the low land where elephants, pigs and monkeys are most likely to damage it. As each man puts his rice into his carrying basket (*chi* C, *akhu* M) he says "However much I carry up never get less," and as he stores it in his granary he says "However little I put in reach to the roof." When he has toiled up the steep path with his last load of eighty pounds or more of rice he can look forward to only a few weeks' rest before it is time to cut the jungle on the new fields and begin the laborious round once more. But idling, trading, and dancing at feasts, he makes the most of his days of freedom.

Other crops

The only other crop to which whole fields are devoted is cotton. The times of sowing are two—one about a fortnight after the rice in the old fields has been sown and another, for a later crop, about a fortnight after the sowing of the new fields has been finished. The soil preferred for it is the stony, but rich, soil on the lower slopes. The variety grown is an annual, with a rather short staple. The Aos believe that they originally had no cotton,¹ but obtained it from Longpu, a village on what is now Longmisa land, inhabited by people like Aos who came across the Dikhu long after the main body of immigrants had crossed, and were akin to the present inhabitants of Longla. One of the reasons why the Aos combined against Longpu and wiped it off the face of the earth was that the Longpu people used to sell cotton seed which never came up. After many failures the Aos discovered that the seed was boiled before it was sold, with the object of keeping the monopoly

¹ The use of cotton seems to have followed that of fibre among most Naga tribes, vide *The Sema Nagas*, p. 49—J. H. H.

of cotton in Longpu hands. Cotton, like all seed except rice and chillies, must be sown on some uneven date from the full moon, preferable on the seventh or ninth day. Rice and chillies too are usually considered to do best if sown on an uneven date from the full moon,¹ but it is not absolutely essential in their case. Millet (*chenchang* C and M) and Job's tears (*menchang* C; *amenchang* M) are rarely seen in the Ao country nowadays. When they are grown they are used for beer or for pig's food. They never take the place of rice, for which the soil everywhere is suitable. Taro (*manu* C; *ami* M) is grown in patches among the rice. It is chiefly used for pig's food. Small quantities of maize (*menti* C and M)² are grown along the boundaries of the fields. The heads are eaten roasted. Chillies (*miresu* C; *miritsu* M), the *sine qua non* of Naga cooking, are grown in little patches in warm, sheltered fields, on soil which has been treated with baked earth obtained from underneath burnt logs. In some villages on the Chapvukong ginger (*sungmok* C; *asung* M) grown among the rice takes the place of chillies. A very important Naga relish is lentils (*azungkhun* C; *anakchami* M). The plant, which is a climber, is sown at the same time as the rice at the foot of small trees left standing in the fields. Just before the pods are ripe the stem is cut through so that all on the plant shall ripen at the same time. The crop is ready about November. The dwarf lentil (*azungkhungi* or *alizungkhun* C; *alichami* M) with the fearsome smell, known to Europeans as "stinking dal," is grown in patches and forms a favourite relish. Another important ingredient in cooking is the oil obtained from black oil seed (*Sesamum indicum*. *Itsung* C; *ungtsung* M), and white oil seed (*Perilla ocimoides*. *Azu* C; *aon* M) which are grown in little strips round the edges of fields. Gourds (*maphu* C; *mao* M) and large coarse cucumbers (*zungyi* C; *matsu* M)³ are grown

¹ Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 62 n.—J. H. H.

² In Chantongia maize is known by the curious name of *moya 'maphix*—"Sema lentils"—J. P. M.

Whereas the Sema calls it *Kolakiti* = "foreigner's Cour"—J. H. H.

³ In some villages the inmates of the "morungs" are entitled to a certain number of cucumbers free. The man whose crop gives two, but everyone else has to give fifty.—J. P. M.

for food, and bottle gourds (*mushu* C, *am* M) for use as receptacles for rice beer. No attempt is made to shape them by binding them when green. Sweet potatoes (*tazushi* C, *tsümarcha*—"foreigner's tuber"—M) are much appreciated and are grown in considerable quantities. Tobacco (*mukhu* C and M) is sown in patches near the field houses or in little gardens on the outskirts of the village. The cultivation of "pan" (*pati 'yu* C, *pati ua* M) forms an important source of profit for many of the lower villages, who get a good price for the leaves in the plains. The "pan" vine is grown up trees in low lying jungle. To propagate it cuttings are planted at the foot of suitable trees—for it does much better on some trees than on others—and rotten wood, broken up small, is piled round the young plants as manure.

On the outskirts of the village are often to be seen little fenced in garden plots (*achiki* C, *rikhu* M), where dark blue dye, a few chillies for use in emergencies, a little maize, some sugar cane (*muchu* C, *mütsü* M), mustard (*chibi* C and M) and garlic (*lashan* C and M) are grown. A species of unpleasantly astringent plantain (*shumumu* C; *mangutung* M) is common in the gardens, as is a very hard and bitter peach (*makhuri* C, *mukhur* M). In most villages there are a few lime (*aochampén* C and M) trees, and in some places in the Mongsén country oranges (*champén temyangla*)¹. Flowers of several species are grown, too, in gardens, always, as their name *naru* implies, to be worn in the ear². The chief are a small canna (*yimpang naru* C, *otung naru* M), and a red flower that only opens when the sun is well up, called by the Chongli *kimung naru* ("stay at home's flower") and by the Mongsén *nokymmungr naru* ("village watchman's flower") because only those who stay in the village all day see it at its best. Besides these there is a red flower that only opens in the evening, which the Chongli call *chenchang naru* ("millet flower") because it blooms when the millet is ripe, and the Mongsén *chamthung naru* ("evening flower"). Orchids, too, are brought from

¹ Vide Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 41, and Mills *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 58 — J H H

² From a similar habit perhaps, one may derive the Sema metaphor of "plucking a flower" for taking a head, the hair of which is worn in the ear by the taker's brother — J H H

the jungle and tied on trees near houses, or even sometimes grown on the roofs of the houses themselves, and in recent years poinsettias (*chuba naru* C and M) have been brought up from the plains and are to be found in most of the warmer villages¹ Nearly every "morung" has a little garden of its own, where no one but the inmates may pluck flowers for their ears, and a fine red flower, the "flower of men who do not run away" (*mechensangr naru* C, *mechen naru* M) is grown in the jungle on the outskirts of some villages by boys of the "morung" Cockscomb (*alu naru* C, *alu enchang naru* M) is grown both in gardens and near field houses, and often comes up with the cotton in the "jhum" To account for this the following story is told At Masentukong (an abandoned site near Sema Shutz) there lived a man who used to have immoral relations with his sister She never knew who it was who came to her, for he used to visit her in the girls' sleeping house late at night and depart before dawn But tongues wagged, and the girl's parents taxed her with the crime She protested that she did not know who her lover was, so her mother told her to blacken her hands with soot and rub them on his face the following night This she did, and in the morning her brother appeared with a dirty face He confessed his guilt to his parents who told him that he could never wipe out the dishonour he had brought on his family and that he had better go on a raid and die fighting So he led a party of raiders and took a head This, with a cockscomb flower, he sent back with his companions to his sister, and himself waited to meet his end at the hands of his pursuers His friends came home and gave the flower to his sister, saying that her brother who was now dead had sent it for her But she could not forgive him for the shame he had brought on her and threw the flower down among seeds of the cotton she was ginning That is why to this day it comes up with the cotton in the fields²

¹ But across the border in the Phom country some of the villages and they not so low either are half buried in poinsettias which they assured me were not imported but had always grown in their village It was at Urangkong I think that they were particularly striking —J H H

² The Semas sow it at the edge of their paddy fields sometimes to frighten off the wild pig and the Kiyongtha of the Chittagong Hill Tracts appear also to sow it (*v* Lewin *op cit* p 123) —J H H

When it so happens that the road to the fields passes near no stream or spring, water for the use of the workers is often led to the path from long distances in aqueducts of split bamboo. The first length of bamboo from the source must be put in place by a man who is not ceremonially unclean for any reason and whose wife is not pregnant. He is "genna" for thirty days. The Mongsen "khel" of Mokongtsu have a custom peculiar to themselves. When the time comes to cut a certain block of jungle they build a very elaborate aqueduct. The end of the channel, where it emerges on to the path leading to this block, is elaborately decorated with crossed bamboos hung with crude wooden models of hornbills, mithan heads, fish and so on, with highly indecent human figures below them on the ground. The water flows out in two streams through a Y shaped wooden channel¹ into a carved wooden trough. What are obviously fertility rites attend the construction of this elaborate erection. Boys make skirts out of their cloths, and, pretending they are girls, crack obscene jokes and sing indecent songs. They are even permitted to do so while girls of their own clan are passing, the only occasion I have ever heard of such a thing being permitted among the Aos. If girls like to take that path they know what to expect, and it is their own look out—that is the attitude. This horse play goes on for three or four days till the aqueduct is completed. On the day after it is finished, very early in the morning, two village priests, one with a cloth tied round him like a woman's skirt and carrying a woman's basket, go down and wash their hands and faces at the out flow. Then they pretend to perform the sexual act,² and on their return are greeted with much highly improper chaff.

Simultaneously with the erection of this aqueduct by the Mongsen "khol" the Chongli "khel" set up an obscene male figure by the side of the path close to their "morung."

The pools which are often to be seen alongside the paths leading up to villages are supposed to have an effect on the crops, the more water there is in them the more rice there will be. Usually no ceremonies appear to be performed to

¹ For the possible significance of the Y shape see *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LII p. 58—J. H. H.

² Cf. *J.R.A.I.*, loc. cit., p. 66—J. H. H.

ensure this desirable result. Ungma, however, are an exception. Not only have they placed in their pool three stones in a line which are supposed to increase the water in it,¹ but once in three years they perform a rite called *Awaotsung kûlam* ("pool sacrifice"). All the elders go down to the pool, and there the village priest of the Chami phratry sacrifices a small boar and a cock and calls upon the *aren* of all neighbouring villages to come to Ungma. One day's *amung* is observed. This ceremony illustrates the connection between the Chami phratry and water. It was a man of the Chami phratry who first found water, and the tale of how he did so runs as follows: In the old, old days men did not know there was such a thing as water; all they had wherewith to cook their rice was the sap of creepers. One day Yimsangperung of the Tsûwar clan was working in his fields when a bulbul flew up from a stream, where it had been bathing, and perched on a bamboo near him and piped: "*Yimsangperung, atsû yungang, Yimsangperung, atsû yungang*" ("Yimsangperung, drink water; Yimsangperung, drink water")—speaking in Mongsen as is the habit of birds and animals even in Chongh stories. In

¹ And therefore water in general and the prosperity of the crops Mr. L. O. Clarke tells me that the plainsmen of the Assam Valley when they make a new tank "marry" it by a ceremony which includes the erection of a pole with a sort of knob at the top in the middle of the tank (*cf.* also the Hindu practice of marrying a tree to a well, Crooke, *North Western Provinces of India*, p. 41). Similar poles, the likeness of which to phallic emblems struck Mr. Henry Balfour in 1922, are to be seen in every tank in Manipur. One informant told me that they were the abode of the god of the tank, and the tops sometimes take the form of a bird, though generally more or less egg shaped, pointed, and apparently a little lop sided. It is probably safe to suppose that their original function was to impregnate the tank and keep it full, as is that of the Ao stones. One may note in this connection the frequency with which individual stones are associated with rain (*vide The Angami Nagas*, p. 407, and Shakespear, *Religion of Manipur, Folk lore*, XXIV., 453-4, also the Lungterok stones mentioned above, p. 6), and also the fact that the Rengmas dig a pond on the grave of a rich man as, if such a pond retains water, there will be no shortage of rain for the crops. On the altar of St. Fladda's Chapel on Fladdahnan in the Hebrides is a stone on which water is poured to produce wind, and in Uist a stone "water-cross" is erected to procure rain, and laid flat again to stop it. So in Inniskea off the west coast of Ireland there is a stone which causes storms and wrecks. In Sumatra there is a stone in the Lampong which having been thrown into water re erected itself with a prodigious storm, there is another rain making stone in Samoa (Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore*, p. 165 *sqq.*), and Ellis (*Polynesian Researches*, III, 364 *sq.*) reports in Rapa in the Austral Islands a stone twelve or fifteen inches in length on which "the supply of water in the springs is supposed to depend."—J. H. H.

down the welcome showers. Usually either a stream is "poisoned" and fished with due rites, or sacrifices are offered to certain of the sacred stones which abound in Ao land. The custom of "poisoning" a stream for rain is universal throughout the country. Usually the water is first either exhorted or mocked. For instance Longmisa go down to a certain pool in the Dikhu with fish poison. Arrived at the bank all put leaf rain shields over their heads as if rain were falling, and an old man, selected by a medicine man as one whose action will be efficacious,¹ first enters the water and pounds his bundle of poison and says "Is there no rain in the sky? Of course there is. Let it rain and never stop till the river is big enough to carry away an old man." The pool is then fished in the ordinary way. Changki are even ruder in their treatment of the water. They go down to the Disoi and dam up one of the branches at a place where a little island divides it—a very common method of fishing among the Aos. One of the elders says "You are so low we can bail you dry with 'dao' holders. We do not need bamboo dishes" (such as are ordinarily used to bail the water out of a dammed up channel). The elders then get into the water and splash it up stream with their "dao" holders. Then the channel is bailed dry in the ordinary way and the entrapped fish caught. After this for very shame the heavens open and the stream comes down in flood. Most Ao sacred stones are connected with the weather. In fact they are as a rule too powerful rain producers to be pleasant, and to meddle with or insult one entails a violent storm. But some, by respectful sacrifices, can be induced to give rain in moderation. Merangkong are so cautious that they operate at long range, and release a cock in the village street in honour of two stones away down in the valley at the junction of the Tsumak and Melak streams. Mongsenyumti release a red cock with no white spots in honour of Shitilung ('elephant stone'), a particularly powerful stone just below the village. Another way of obtaining rain practised in many villages is to mend the "morung" and clear up the ground round it,

¹ An interesting example of how professional rain makers such as exist in many parts of the world, may have originated.—J. P. M.

and having sacrificed a cock with a prayer for rain examine its entrails and see if the ceremony will be successful or not. Some rain ceremonies are nothing but very crude imitative magic. For instance Changki, besides fishing in the Disoi, go to a boulder called Alungterungbaba and, rattling a stick about in a hole in the stone, make a noise which is supposed to resemble that of rain falling.¹ Another method, practised in Merangkong, is to lead water in bamboo aqueducts from certain streams to the village paths and sacrifice a cock with a prayer that rain may come.

Ceremonies for fine weather.

Sometimes, however, unceasing rain wearies even the heart of the rice grower and threatens to ruin his crop. Steps must then be taken to stop it. The usual method is for a village priest to offer an egg at each end of the village street, with prayers that the rain may cease and the sun shine once more. Some villages have methods peculiar to themselves. Mongsenyimti, arguing that a stone which can make rain to fall can also make it to cease, release a cock in honour of Shitilung, exactly as is done when rain is short. Merangkong again, with the same object, pour strong rice beer over Mangchilung ("corpse-eating stone") and leave an egg by it. In Longmisa an old man of the Anichar clan ("sun clan") sacrifices a cock and calls to the sun to appear from behind the clouds—one of the very rare cases among the Nagas where a clan has duties connected with its traditional origin.²

Live stock.

Very few mithan (*sə* C; *atsə* M) are kept by Aos. Wandering at will in the jungle they are terribly destructive to crops. A Sema chief has servants who can look after his animals and see that they do not break down fences. When they do get into anyone's fields the chief is a big enough man to face the angry owner. Among the Aos wealth and

¹ This is not very convincing somehow. I suggest it is the survival of a ceremony such as that described by Baudesson, *Indo-China and its Primitive People*, p. 284, which practised on a rain stone would be appropriate enough.—J. H. H.

² The Sun-clan of the Bechuanas performs a similar service (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, 313).—J. H. H.

position are so evenly distributed that few men are either humble enough to work as servants or of such eminence as to be able to face righteous indignation with equanimity. So to save himself trouble the Ao does not as a rule keep mithan. He can get what he wants for sacrifices from his neighbours across the Dikhu. The few that are kept run more or less wild in the jungle, their owners going to them every few days with salt. If a mithan, or any other domestic animal, is lost and then turns up again after a long time, the owner must relinquish all claim to it. It is "tibu" for him to keep it or sell it. Its having been lost so long "shows that he was not meant to possess it." Besides mithan there are a few mithan and common cattle hybrids (*mukza* C and M). Common cattle (*nashī* C, *masū* M) are kept in large numbers. Usually they are rather miserable beasts, either plains cattle or their descendants. A very few Christians have learnt to milk their cows, otherwise they are kept solely for meat. In the day they are allowed to wander about in the jungle coming home to sleep in the village at night. At the birth of a calf, whether of mithan, hybrid or cow, the owner is "genna" for six days for men of his own village and twelve days for strangers. On the morning of the fourth day a fowl of either sex is sacrificed with prayers for the calf's prosperity, and the omens taken from the entrails in the ordinary way. A string is then run through a sword bean seed with a lump of ginger¹ on either side and hung round the calf's neck. It is taken off on the morning of the seventh day and hung up by the owner in his house. A considerable number of goats (*napong* C and M) are kept both for food and for the sake of their hair, which is extensively used in the manufacture of ornaments. Sheep (*sanapong* C, *otakr* M) are very occasionally to be seen, but a damp climate and the absence of open grazing prevent their flourishing. All are recent importations. Pigs (*al* C, *aol* M) swarm in every village and do most of the necessary scavenging. Every evening they are fed on a mash of taro leaves, broken rice and so on, and at night sleep in the outer room of the house. In

¹ Perhaps the bean is to promote growth and fertility, and the ginger to keep off evil influences. For sword bean see *supra*, p. 116n.—J. H. H.

the high threshold there is a little door which the owner opens every morning before dawn to let the pigs out. He can then go back to bed for another nap before he opens the main door. When a sow litters the owner is "genna" for five days as far as his own village is concerned and six days for strangers. At two months old all boars are castrated and have their ears docked. This operation the owner either performs himself or has done by some man of known skill, at a fee of two annas per pig. Soot is applied to the wound and it is sewn up with a bamboo needle and thread. Were a steel needle to be used it is believed it would not heal. Very occasionally domestic pigs interbreed with wild pigs. A domestic sow, for instance, at Charr, a mixed Sangtam and Ao village, gave birth in 1920 to a litter with the characteristic striped marking of the wild pig. Ao dogs (azü C; ayi M) are not as a rule pleasant animals. They are kept almost exclusively for food,¹ and the plains-cur, being cheap, tasty and prolific, has consequently practically ousted the more expensive Naga dog from all but the villages on the Langbangkong. Dog puppies are usually sold for food when they are a few months old, and bitch puppies kept for breeding. If a bitch has only one puppy in a litter the owner gives the offspring to an old man to eat. The owner may not keep it lest he be infected by the deplorable infertility of the bitch. So keen are their owners on making what they can that I have occasionally come across a village full of bad-tempered bitches condemned to enforced celibacy because everyone has sold what dog pups he had on the unfounded assumption that other people are sure to keep enough to carry on the race. The tails and ears of dogs and the tails of bitches are docked, in accordance with the universal Naga custom,²

¹ White dogs are kept on the Langbangkong for their wool, which is, or was, plucked regularly, dyed, and used for embroidering cloths. Dogs' wool was similarly used in Tahiti (*First Missionary Voyage*, p. 119) and in New Zealand (Ellis, *op cit*, III., 357) for purposes of adornment.—J. H. H.

² For an explanation of this custom see *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 71, 72, an explanation which might well apply to the custom of docking tails in the British Isles, this custom being perhaps to be particularly associated with the dog of the poor man, e.g. terriers, and therefore the more likely to be a survival of some very early culture. On the other hand, an adequate explanation of the practice is provided in the belief recorded by Piny (*Nat. Hist.* VIII, xli), who says, "*Columella auctor est, si quad-*

and the severed ends hung up on the wall of the outer room. If they were to be eaten by a rat in the first three days the stumps would not heal. After the birth of a litter of puppies the owner is "genna" to strangers for three days. A few hunting dogs are kept and curiously enough they alone have names, and only one name at that.¹ They are all called *sani* or *sanipong*—meaning "good hunter." Not that they pay much attention to their names or come when they are called; very few Naga dogs ever do unless they want to. Hunting dogs are fairly well treated and fed more or less regularly. When such a dog dies three leaves of rice and three leaves of meat are put by its head for its use in the next world and buried with it in its grave² behind the house. Were this offering to be omitted the owner would never have good hunting again. The bodies of other dogs that die are either eaten, or thrown into the jungle. Cats (*thanü* C; *motsü* M) are occasionally kept, but are not popular. They soon run more or less wild and supplement their irregular meals with fresh-caught chickens. There are no particular superstitions attached to the animal.³ Fowls (*an* C and M) increase and multiply, apparently without any care being taken of them. The strain of red jungle fowl is very strong in the breed. For nesting, baskets are fixed high up out of the way of rats. When the chickens

ragesimo die, quam fit natus, castretur morsu cauda, summusque ejus articulus auferatur, sequenti nervo exempto, nec caudam crescere, nec canes rabidos fieri." Indeed, the absence of rabies in the Naga Hills, where almost all dogs are docked, would, within a little, tempt one to believe that Columella was right—J. H. H.

¹ Nowadays dogs are sometimes given Assamese names or called "Puppy," a custom adopted from foreigners or European officials—J. P. M.

² All Nagas pay respect to hunting dogs in burial (*vide* Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 63; Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 81, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 70), and the Thados bury their hunting dogs with four posts at the corners of the grave "like a man." All these are tribes which bury their dead. The curious thing is that the Aos and Konyaks who expose their dead on platforms bury their hunting dogs (though, in the case of the Konyaks, with a house over the grave as if it were a survival in this case of tree burial). This suggests that the practice of burying hunting dogs belongs to a different culture from that of platform exposure of the human dead. In the Chang tribe the latter appears to be the later practice, and one which is superseding burial, though both forms of disposal of the dead are practised—J. H. H.

³ In view of the very prevalent superstitions about cats in other tribes (*vide* *The Angami Nagas*, p. 82 *sq.*; *The Sema Nagas*, p. 69, Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, pp. 111, 112, 180) this is remarkable—J. H. H.

are hatched they are lifted down by the owner, who must have had a meal first. He sprinkles broken rice for them and prays that they may be preserved from wild cats and hawks. A slip of bamboo is run through the shells and they are hung up in the house. Ducks (*phatal* C and M) are sometimes brought up from the plains for immediate consumption and I know one man who keeps pigeons (*Tsumar kutur* C, *kutur* M).

Hunting

Few Aos keep dogs for hunting and little enthusiasm is shown for this sport. The method of catching deer is (or rather was, till the Government stopped it) to dig pit falls at likely places, such as where the animals are in the habit of crossing a saddle, or near a salt lick. Long bamboo spikes were fixed at the bottom in order to impale any animal which fell in. For elephants iron "punjis" were used. Little holes were dug in their path, and at the bottom of each a flat stone or block of wood was placed. On this was set an iron spike, usually a spear butt, and the hole lightly filled in with soft earth. If an elephant trod on one of these iron spikes, the iron, with the resistance of the stone or block of wood to help it, would go right through the sole of its foot. With such a wound an elephant stands still for a long time and then only travels very slowly.¹ A poor beast could thus be dispatched at ease with spears. Cases of this cruel practice, though it is strictly forbidden, still crop up from time to time. Another way of dealing with elephants was to hang a weighted spear over the path. In passing the animal touched a string which released the spear. This rarely did more than give the elephant a slight wound and a bad enough fright to prevent its coming that way again to damage the crops. Solitary tusker boars are tracked down and killed with spears. In some villages each hunter has his own boar, which he knows by the tracks. He gives to the other hunters bits of bamboo, the length

¹ A crack big game shot can stop a wounded elephant as it walks away from him by putting a bullet into the sole of one of the fore feet as it turns them up in its stride. It will then stand and allow a fatal shot to be placed from close quarters.—J P M

of the footprint of his particular boar, and each goes after his own only. Sometimes a man will take two or three years to kill his animal, going out into the jungle on any day when he feels so inclined and picking up the tracks in the hope of a lucky meeting. The best days are wet days in the summer. At such times solitary boars make themselves nests of sticks and rubbish in which they sleep snug and dry throughout the day. They snore loudly and can be approached quite near. The hunter who is lucky enough to come on one of these nests creeps up as close as he can and hurls his spear¹ through it. Then without a moment's hesitation he and the one or two men he has with him (for no Naga ever hunts alone) draw their "daos" and rush the nest and jump on it. It is believed that, though a boar which gets away wounded is very dangerous, a man will never be killed or injured in this first rush, "because the boar will not defile its house." Probably it is too bewildered by its rude awakening from sleep to do anything².

It is in ringing herds of pigs however, rather than in the pursuit of solitary animals that the Ao really excels. In the summer months the pigs move about in big herds, consisting of sows, three quarters grown young and a few mature boars. If there is a herd in the neighbourhood the young men of the village go out under a leader chosen beforehand, who must come of a long line of warriors. Once on the track they get as close to the herd as they can without alarming it—it is usually lying up or moving slowly about in the jungle during the day—and cut a narrow strip of jungle in a wide circle round it. Should the herd move it will not generally cross this ring, as the smell of man turns it back at every point. Then a smaller circle is cut, and so on till the herd is enclosed in an area small enough to be fenced round. The herd soon gets suspicious, but hearing voices all round, it does not know which way to

¹ In Kongtsung Toluba heavy spears with a counterpoise are kept specially for this purpose.—J. P. M.

² Similarly the Ainu believe a bear will never kill anything in the den in which it hibernates. A hunter will therefore go boldly in and prick the bear with a knife till it emerges and can be shot (Batchelor *The Ainu and their Folklore*, p. 474).—J. P. M.

break and usually keeps quite still, in the hope that it will be overlooked. When all the men are at their stations the leader puts on the pigs' tracks a little coil of creeper "to entangle their feet," and upright in the middle a little sausage of mud, with the prayer that the animals may be blind and deaf and unable to get away. If the sausage topples over towards the hunters it is a good omen. Word is then sent to the village and all the hunters set to work to build a stout fence, each man working where he stands and using the brushwood and stakes ready to his hand. When the messenger reaches the village all get ready to come down, men with spears and "daos" and women with supplies of rice beer. An egg is first required. A "medicine man" takes the omens to see who will supply a lucky one. An old man then goes to the house selected and holds out his cloth to receive the egg. When it is put into his cloth he wraps it up quickly and says "I have shut it up. It cannot escape." He then goes down with the rest and puts the egg on the tracks of the herd at the point where they enter the enclosure, with the usual prayer that the animals may be blind, and so on. All is then ready for the drive to begin. The enclosure is, of course, on a slope, like all ground in the Naga Hills, and care is taken to leave uncut the jungle immediately inside the fence at the lower end. The pigs are to be driven in that direction and will not come up to the fence if there is a clear space to cross. Little platforms are built jutting out over the fence on the lower side, and on these the older men take their stand. The pigs as a rule do not charge straight at the fence—if they do nothing can stop them—but rush along, hugging it and trying to find a way out. The men on the platforms spear them and jump down with "daos" to finish them. For first blood counts for nothing. Extra shares of meat go to the men near whose platform the dead pig lies. So you must stop your animal. The scene is one of wild excitement—men shouting, pigs squealing, and women at the back excitedly pouring out drinks ready for their thirsty champions. That is when the drive is a success, of course. Very often things go wrong, sometimes the pigs pluck up courage and charge out before the

fence is ready, sometimes a big piece of jungle is enclosed only to find that the quarry has slipped away and it is empty, quite often the big is only a small one. But on a lucky day a whole herd will be wiped out, and not only much pork gained for the village but the ravaging of the crops stopped. In August 1923 Yongyimsen killed eighty pigs in one day.¹

Many villages ring tiger and leopard with the same preliminaries. For these the fence is prolonged into a V. The jungle is cleared inside and the ground studded with "panjis."² The young men, all carrying shields, drive slowly down from the top, half of them cutting the jungle as they go and half advancing with spears poised. The idea is to make the animal charge down the V, where it is met with showers of spears from the men waiting for it. Ungma are wonderfully expert at this sport, and no tiger or leopard survives long on their land. When a village is out ringing a leopard or tiger all "medicine men," who of course have these animals as familiars,³ must remain shut up in their houses. If they go out of their houses the animal will get out of the ring. Sometimes they rather object to having to aid and abet the death of their own familiars. But their scruples have to give way before custom.

Leopards, and more rarely tigers, are also trapped. A long, low shed (*lize shiki* C, *akwu saki* M) is made by fixing stakes firmly into the ground and lashing them together at the top. One end is closed with stakes and at the other a very heavy wooden door is suspended. Inside there are two compartments, in the back one of which a goat is placed for bait. The leopard enters the front compartment in an attempt to get through to the goat, releases a catch, and drops the heavy door behind him. I remember being sent for to shoot a leopard in one of these traps. In one compartment was a goat, lying down quite unconcerned, in the other was a very lively leopard that had worked a hole over the door through which it could almost get its head.

¹ I have thrice known of more than half that number of pigs killed in one ringing.—J H H

² At the Ao drives for tiger and leopard which I have seen no "panjis" were used at all but the Lhotas always use them.—J H H

³ See p. 247 *infra*—J P M

Through this hole a paw would wave occasionally, only to be given a prick with a spear and sent back. I shot the beast, and then someone had to open the door and crawl in and pull its tail to see if it was really dead. Luckily for him it was. The killing of a leopard or tiger is celebrated as the death of an enemy and the chant which announces it is that which proclaims the taking of a head¹. The carcase, lashed to supports on a bier in a standing position, with the tail strught up in the air and the mouth wedged open with a piece of wood, is carried in triumph to the village, where the warriors dance round it. It is then carried out, accompanied by a crowd of men and boys, and deposited on a platform in the place assigned by tradition to this purpose usually near the cemetery². On the way back a row of little peeled sticks is stuck up along the path. The more there are the better, for the spirit of the tiger seeing them will think that each was put there by a separate warrior, and refrain from troubling such a powerful village³. The village observes the next day as *amung*.

Small box traps with falling doors are often made for monkeys in the fields and are baited with a cucumber or some such thing. Big bags of stump tailed macaques are sometimes made by driving them, as many as forty or fifty being killed in a day. This species of monkey climbs badly and for choice travels along the ground. If a band is located in a convenient piece of jungle a long narrow, roofed tunnel with the far end closed (*shingu shiki* C, *sanga saki* M), is constructed in a gully with steep sides. The monkeys are driven towards it and take shelter in it. Finding the end closed they completely lose their heads and cling to each other jibbering till they are dispatched.

The triangular traps⁴ (*uanglel* C and M) used by the Semas Lhotas, Changs and Angamis were only introduced among

¹ This chant is regarded as serving the double purpose of celebrating a victory and of driving away evil influences.—J P M

² Just so in Southern Ind a tiger killed by Chettis (descendants of the West Coast Nairs) is exposed on a raised platform mouth open and tail elevated on a hill near the village (J A S B I of 1896).—J H H

³ Cf *The Lhota Nagas* p 67.—J P M

⁴ For description see Hutton *Angami Nagas* pp 87 and 88 and Figure I and II facing page 88.—J P M

the Aos by the Changs during the present generation. A miniature fence is made, with gaps at intervals, at each of which a trap is set for any birds or small animals which may try to run through. More usually nooses (*khunglen* C and M) to catch birds feet are set at gaps in fences. Baited nooses are also set for ground feeding birds and around flowers very fine nooses are arranged for little birds which are attracted by the insects and honey. Birdlime (*ang* C and M) is much used. It is prepared as follows. Sap of the *Ficus elastica* (*nisa* C and M) is collected and stirred till it becomes thick. Then it is heated in a bamboo "chung" and allowed to cool again. Fresh sap of another *Ficus* (*nitsu* C and M) is finally stirred in till the lime is of the desired consistency.

Fishing

The Ao is not as keen on fishing as the Lhota and can rarely swim. Nevertheless he dearly loves to poison a stream. The poison usually employed is *arr* (C and M), the creeper which the Lhotas call *nuro*. Logs are thrown across the stream above the pool it is intended to fish and on them a bamboo platform is constructed. Short lengths of the creeper are pounded up on the bank and a layer of mud is placed on the platform. On this is put a layer of pounded creeper, then a layer of mud, and so on. The object of the mud is to make the water dirty, for, for some reason, poison is far more effective in dirty water than in clear, perhaps the particles of mud carry the poison in some way. When all is ready the mud and creeper are splashed with water and pounded with sticks till the fish below begin to flounder to the top. Then all struggle for them, some using big landing nets, some "daos," and some their hands. At the end a portion of fish is set aside for the sick and aged who could not come down and the rest divided up, groups of friends pooling their catches. Another favourite poison is walnut leaves. Little cup shaped hollows are scooped out in the shingle on the bank and the leaves pounded in them. The pulp is then put into wide meshed baskets and well mixed with mud. A line of men, each with a basket, take

their stand across the stream in the shallow water above the pool, and swish the baskets about in the water till their contents have all been carried down. Except at Changli, where the practice has been copied from the Lhotas, Aos do not build weirs in which to set fish traps. The fences they make across the streams at places where it is divided into two branches round an island are purely temporary affairs. Such a place is in Ao eyes an ideal fishing ground, and rights in stretches where streams divide are jealously guarded by the villages owning them. Across the arm selected a weir of bamboos, sticks and mud is built at the lower end of the island. Then at the upper end another weir is made slant wise across the stream and all the water diverted down the other branch. If the stream is of any size the water in the enclosed branch is poisoned with the pounded bark of a tree called *achal* (C and M). In small streams the water is either baled out or allowed to run out till it only remains to collect the stranded fish. Any stranger passing at such a time is entitled to any fish he can pick up, though of course objections would be raised if members of a rival village "passed" in force.

Changli in the swampy pools between their village and Satselpa set basket traps called *nokharipen* ('Foreigners' trap," for it is copied from those used by Assamese) with an entrance like that of a lobster pot. With these they catch throughout the year large quantities of small mud fish, most of which are excellent eating if properly cooked. The roe of certain kinds, however, has the effect of making some people, including the author, violently sick on the spot.

Food

Except food that is definitely forbidden to him the Ao will eat almost anything. His staple diet is rice, and with it he eats a relish of some sort. If he can obtain nothing else he contents himself with chillies, salt and jungle leaves. But he likes fish or meat if he can get it. Beef, pork, game, dogs, fowls, birds, fish, crabs, beetles, spiders, wasp grubs—nothing comes amiss. Meat is preferred fresh, but an

separately from the rice, with salt and such a liberal addition of chillies that no European can touch it. To eat with drinks by the way snacks (*mayunglsh* C, *mayung* M) are prepared. These are of various kinds. Often they are bits of meat or fish particularly highly spiced. "Stinking dal," a vegetable with a disgusting smell, is a great favourite. Another popular thirst producer is fish paste (*ngash* C, *ngatsu* M) made of mashed, rotten fish. It is often kept for a year or more, "for having once rotted it cannot rot any more," as the matter was once put to me. Food restrictions are not as rigidly observed as they used to be. As one man said to the writer "We put in plenty of salt and chillies, and let them fight with the 'tabu'." This relaxing of old rules is probably due to contact with civilization in general and to the teaching of the American Baptist Mission in particular. Converts are taught to put away the past, and on the strength of this men of a certain type joyfully set themselves to break as many "tabus" as possible. I have even known a Christian eat leopard's flesh. I only hope the pleasurable sensation of breaking a very strict "tabu" made up for the revolting flavour of the meat. But public opinion is definitely against pranks of this kind, and the more respectable members of the Christian community observe the old restrictions.¹ With this qualification my remarks below must be taken to apply to non-Christians. No Ao will eat tiger, leopard, gibbon, Indian macaque, wild dog, leopard cat, civet, flying squirrel, squirrel, bat, mole,² slow loris, marten, eagles, hawks, owls, nightjar, minivet, crow, spotted dove, green magpie, snakes, bullfrog and newt. In addition to these all Mongsen men and women must refrain from pig's stomach, bamboo rat, frogs and crabs. No Ao women, besides the restrictions observed by her husband, may partake of elephant, goat, serow, beef, bear, dog, pig's stomach, monkey, scaly ant eater, porcupine, otter, bamboo rat, fowls and their eggs.

¹ Unloutedly, too many Nagas observe unmeaning 'tabus' because they are afraid that their parents will disown them in the next world if they break them.—J. P. M.

² Save as medicine (vide p. 149 *infra*) —J. P. M.

frogs,¹ mud fish, locusts, white ants and the kill of any animal. Women may cook for their husbands food which they may not eat themselves, but they must use a special pot kept for this purpose. Should it be necessary to use an iron pot which is in common use by the whole family it must afterwards be cleaned and cooked in once by the husband alone. There are special rules regarding meat from the kill of a tiger or leopard. It is unclean and may not be eaten by anyone who for any reason has to remain ceremonially pure. No woman may eat such meat whatever the animal be, and no man may partake of the flesh of a goat or dog killed in this way. Further, no descendant in the male line of a person killed by a leopard or tiger may ever eat meat from a kill, if he does he will be ill and his teeth will fall out, as if he had eaten with a man with whom he had a blood feud.²

In addition to the general rules observed by all Aos many clans have their own peculiar prohibitions. For instance the Sanglichar clan, the descendants of the Molungr race which the Aos drove before them at the time of their invasion,³ are forbidden to eat beef or pork. Their women are even more restricted in their diet, for the only non vegetable relishes they are allowed are wild birds and fish. It is said that a Sanglichar man once kept a female Konjak slave of the Ang clan, and that her food "tabus" have been observed by the women of the Sanglichar clan ever since. Again the Yimchenchar and Aotang clans, and at Merang-long the Yimsungr clan, do not eat dog. All members of the Wozukamr clan and the children and grandchildren of women of that clan must avoid the flesh of the Great Horn bill,⁴ for it was from a tail feather of this bird that the ancestress of the clan conceived a son.⁵

Very old people, boys before they enter the "morung,"

¹ Except women of the Changki group, who may eat frogs and a kind of mud fish called *alopongo*—J P M

² For food tabus of other tribes and for some of the reasons given for them see *The Angami Nagas* p 94 sq, *The Sema Nagas* pp 90 sqq, 124. Mills *The Lhota Nagas* p 74 sqq—J H H

³ See p 10 *supra*—J P M

⁴ Cf *The Angami Nagas* p 391—J H H

⁵ See p 14 *supra*—J P M

and girls before they are tattooed, can eat anything they like, they are hardly reckoned as full members of the community. But if anyone else partakes of forbidden food he or she falls ill. For instance very old people do occasionally eat hawk. But should a person in the prime of life eat it his head will shrink and he will keep moving it from side to side and flapping his hands slowly against his sides, as a hawk stretches and moves its wings when it is sunning itself. A man in Sangratsu is said to have been affected in this way.

No Ao drinks water if he can get rice beer (*yi C*, *azu M*).¹ Even if a man goes fishing he will take drinks down to the river. At festivals large quantities are drunk, and most people are fairly merry, but I do not think I have ever seen an Ao dead drunk and I have never heard of an Ao drinking himself to death. On the other hand many men keep themselves alive for months on rice beer. "Madhu" as rice beer is called in Naga Assamese, is so sustaining that in the case of old men it often takes the place of solid food. It is made as follows. Yeast (*piyazi C*, *pazai M*) is first prepared. To make it, husked rice is soaked in water in an earthenware pot. The water is drained off and the rice pounded up with *likoh* leaves and spread out on a winnowing fan. This dough is then divided up into four, six or eight elliptical cakes and a similar number of square cakes. The elliptical cakes are called male cakes and the square female cakes. A layer of rice husks is then spread on a bamboo tray, and over the husks sugar cane leaves, "to make the yeast sweet." The damp cakes are put on the leaves and after some old yeast has been crumbled over them they are left to dry till the morning of the sixth day, when they are considered ready for use.

To prepare "madhu" rice is boiled and spread on a mat and allowed to cool. Then pounded yeast and a small quantity of rice husks are mixed with it, the woman who is preparing it saying "Enter the plantain tree, climb the

¹ These remarks do not apply to the Christians who are strictly forbidden by the American Baptist Mission to partake of alcohol in any form — J. P. M.

sugar cane, and be sweet " Immediately after it is mixed it is put into a basket lined with leaves On the evening of the next day it is put into tall baskets lined with plantain leaves and the juice is allowed to drain off at the bottom Thus juice is the drink known in Naga Assamese as "rohi madhu" (*mechemzu* C, *mechem* M) It is of about the potency of claret, and is the favourite drink of well to do men To the English palate it is too sticky, and often too sweet, to be a "clean" drink, but it is very stimulating and by no means to be despised half way up a long hill For a thirst quencher the Ao prepares "saka madhu" (*tesenzukyi* C, *azu techenlak* M), a drink resembling very thin gruel, and less potent than the lightest beer To prepare it fermented rice from which the 'rohi madhu' has drained is put into a sieve (*sanku* C, *changku* M) and hot or cold water is poured on to it The milky fluid which results is the ordinary household drink of an Ao family

Strict prohibition is the rule of the American Baptist Mission Even for their Lord's Supper wine is forbidden, and unfermented grape juice, imported from America, substituted Abstinence from 'madhu' is regarded by the average Ao as the sign and hall mark of Christianity and a Christian will often speak of himself simply as 'a man who does not drink 'madhu' Very inferior tea—dust and tea house sweepings from gardens in the plains—is the common drink of converts The tea leaves are put in a pot and boiled up with the water Cold water is then added to reduce the brew to the desired strength Sugar and milk are rarely added Sometimes the white of an egg beaten up is used as a substitute for the latter, and if the egg has passed its prime the resulting drink is as nasty as anything that can be imagined But deprived of the drink of his forefathers, the Ao Christian has not failed to look for substitutes, and the substitutes are very evil ones Opium was one of the first Molungyimsen was founded by the Mission as a purely Christian, and hence entirely teetotal, village A few years ago there were few householders which were not excommunicated as opium eaters, there has been some reform, but the proportion of those

addicted to the vice is still higher in Molungyimsen than in any other Ao village, Christian or non-Christian.

Another substitute is distilled liquor. Its manufacture is forbidden in the hills, but I have known Christians visiting the plains get through astonishing quantities. When they partake of it they say it is "medicine." Another "medicine" is rectified spirits of wine. I found in 1923 that Christians were obtaining it from Calcutta chemists through an ex-Christian Ao compounder, who had himself taken to distilled liquor and had been turned out of the community. They said it did them good to sip it as a medicine "when their chests hurt." They obtained it in bottles which each contained enough to make a dozen people blind drunk. The most harmful substitute of all is "ganja" (hemp). The high price of this drug in the plains recently led to its secret cultivation by Nagas, who sold it on the quiet to Assamese. Nearly all the Aos convicted of this offence were Christians, and one or two were beginning to smoke it, "to see what it was like." Luckily the habit has nowhere obtained a firm footing among Nagas. The private cultivation of the plant is strictly forbidden by law.

Medicine.

When he feels ill an Ao usually either does nothing or consults a "medicine-man" as to what sacrifice he ought to offer. He has small faith in European drugs. Any medicine of which the first dose does not have an immediate effect he regards as useless. He will neglect an ulcer for months and only come to hospital when his life has become a misery. He then expects to be cured in a week. Just as illness, according to his ideas, comes upon him suddenly through the agency of an evil spirit, so, he thinks, will he be instantaneously cured when the evil spirit is duly appeased.¹ A good supply of fowls and pigs for sacrifice are to his

¹ The Thado view practically identifies bacilli with evil spirits. The disease is the immediate result of the presence of an evil spirit *in situ*, and European medicines are believed to be efficacious because we have discovered the peculiar nature and composition and the various smells disliked by the particular "spirits" respectively causing the diseases cured by each medicine, so that when the medicine is taken or applied, the spirit responsible for the illness departs, unable to bear the smell of the drug, and the patient gets well.—J. H. H.

mind a greater safeguard against ill health than a well filled medicine chest. Yet he has a few medicines of his own. His omnivorous habits are sometimes too much even for his ostrich like digestion and stomach troubles are not unknown. He will then take either a little of the meat of the mole (*lipretsu* C *lipru* M) dried and pounded up or crushed berries of the *anget* (C) or *maket* (M) shrub or young shoots of the *longmu* bamboo boiled. For actual poison the antidotes are an infusion of the leaves of a plant called *amren* (C and M) or the boiled bark of a tree called *mempan* (C and M). Fever is common and usually dealt with by sacrifice but a sufferer will occasionally take dried and pounded water tortoise (*sanu* C, *chanu* M) meat if he can get it or the bile of a kind of carp called *süben* (C) or *tümaruk lo* (M). This fish is regarded as an omnivorous feeder and its stomach is not eaten. Another cure which sounds rather unpleasant is a little scrap of roast weasel¹ flesh swallowed with hot *rohi madhu*. For a headache the remedy is a poultice of the leaves of a weed called *pipyio* (C and M). If it is simply a case of the morning after the night before an infusion is drunk of the crushed fruit of the *thambu* (C) or *thamba* (M) tree. Severe bleeding from a wound is obviously something for which there is usually no time to offer a sacrifice. Luckily the Naga Hills contain many trees with astringent barks and an Ao rarely has to go more than a few hundred yards to find materials for a most efficient poultice. The bark is shredded and bound on firmly with a pad of leaves. A suitable bark is obtained either from the common shrub called *miset* (C) or *micet* (M) the leaves of which are so often worn in the ear as a protection against evil spirits² or from the twigs of a common tree with a white flower called *misang* (C) or *mechang* (M) or from the *songpet* (C and M) tree. Another remedy is a poultice of the young shoots of a plant called *kurr* (C and M) which looks rather like an aspidistra. The story goes that men saw monkeys binding up their wounds with poultices of this plant and so learnt of its value. A

¹ Weasel figures in more than one of Plains recipes e.g. *Jocimorum doloribus medetur mustela s. lvestris in cibo sumpta* (Nat Hist XXX vi) and also in XXX v where ashes of mole also are to be mixed with 1 orey as an ointment for boils.—J H H

² See p. 201.—J P M

man who was wounded in war in the old days had his wounds dressed in this way, and was fed on raw cucumber and boiled dog's flesh. The first item of this curious diet was believed to stop bleeding, and the second item to strengthen the patient.¹ If he escaped with the weapon which wounded him he was very careful to keep it thoroughly dry on the tray over his fire. As the weapon dried so his wound would dry. Once the wound was healed the weapon could be removed from the tray and preserved as an heirloom in the family. Thorns in the foot are usually hacked out with a "dao"—the only surgical operation the Ao ordinarily performs, though there is an old man in Mokongtsu who amputated his own leg, a wound from a "pənɿ" became septic, seeing that the trouble was spreading he sawed through the rotten flesh with his "dao" till the limb was off at the knee joint. If a thorn cannot be cut out a bee is caught and made to sting the spot where it entered, and the resulting inflammation opens a passage for its extraction. Another treatment for a deep splinter is to rub on the ashes of the burnt tail feathers of the fork tail, a black and white bird which frequents mountain streams. If the ashes are rubbed on at night it is said that the end of the splinter will be found protruding in the morning. For a sprain a poultice of pounded ginger and the leaves of a creeper called *onzə* (C) or *anzə* (M) is applied by a "medicine man," the value of the ginger being probably purely magical. For a dog bite too a semi-magical poultice is used consisting of three or six pieces of rat dung, some leaves of a plant called *yaklam* (C) or *yaklo* (M), and some singed hair of the dog responsible.² If an infant has a sore on its tongue a certain small, very slippery, fish is carefully brought up from a stream alive, and rubbed on the tongue. In cases where a wound on a pig has been so neglected as to get maggots into it the animal is given a meal of the cooked leaves of a kind of wild arum called *mesenridang* (C) or *churang* (M) which is found growing on rotten wood in dense jungle. I have been assured by most reliable witnesses that the maggots drop out of the wound in a very few hours. For

¹ See p. 17 n. *supra*—J P M

² Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 101 and *supra* p. 18 n.—J H H

rat poison the raw pulp of the chalmugra fruit (*yimsung chang* C and M) is mixed with boiled rice I have tried this and found it quite effective ¹

Drugs

The opium habit is confined among the Aos to Merang long and certain villages on the feverish outer range near the plains, and vigorous measures are taken by Government to prevent its spread The drug can only be obtained at certain licensed shops, and then only on presentation of a ticket A census was recently taken of *habitues* and a ticket issued to each They are not transferable, and no more tickets will ever be issued Opium (*lan* C and M) is often smoked For this purpose it is prepared as follows "Pan" (*pat* *yu* C, *pat* *ua* M) leaves are cut into very fine strips and dried over a fire The opium is melted in a spoon and well mixed with the "pan" Little balls of the mixture are then smoked in a roughly made bamboo pipe, the smoke being drawn through water Another method of taking the drug is to mix a pill with cold or slightly warm water, and drink the liquid A traveller in a hurry will sometimes place a small pill of opium in his cheek, and keep it there till it dissolves Boys and girls smoke tobacco almost as soon as they can walk, and an Ao's clothes invariably reek of nicotine The tobacco leaves are half dried in the sun and rolled with the feet Such tobacco (*mukhu* C and M) will often only keep alight if a live ember is left lying in the bowl of the pipe, and gives a smoke which calls for a tongue of leather Various kinds of pipes are in use The simplest and commonest consists of a little section of bamboo cut near the node, into which a short, thin bamboo stem is fixed This is called by the Chongh *tsupong*, or "Lhota pipe," and by the Mongsen *longm mukhung* A variation of this is called *utipong* (C) or *walenmukhung* (M), and resembles the last, save that the stem, which is bored with a piece of hot wire, is formed by a shoot growing out from the node which forms the back of the bowl If the bowl of this pipe is cut down and

¹ Cooked thrice this fruit is eaten by Kanyaks and presented as a lent—like ghi.—J. H. H.

small stone bowl superimposed it is called *lungpong* (C) or *lungmulhung* (M). The Chongli make a pipe of bamboo root which they call *lherakpong*. This is not used by the Mongsen. A more elaborate pipe is that which the Chongli call *moyapong* because it is a Sema pattern, and the Mongsen *Lunglammukhung* because Lungkam was the first Ao village to take to it. It consists of a tall stone bowl in a wooden holder, with a bamboo receptacle for the nicotine underneath. A little water is placed in the receptacle and when the liquid is nicely coloured the owner takes sips of it when he feels inclined, taking care, however, to spit it out after he has held it in his mouth for some time. This is the only kind of Ao pipe which a woman does not ordinarily smoke. A wife would have a pull or two at her husband's *moyapong*, but she would not possess one of her own. A pretty type of pipe, but one troublesome to keep alight without an ember on the top, has a wide shallow bowl flattened at the sides and coloured black with lac. The stem is often decorated with a binding of cane dyed red. This is called *chuchupong* (C) or *khayakmukhung* (M). Somewhat of the same shape is a pipe of tin or sheet brass (*merangpong* C, *ayin mukhung* M).

In villages where the ingredients are easily obtainable most adults chew "pan" and betel nut (*loyin* C and M). A quid consists of a little betel nut, some lime (*shinū* C, *sāni* M), a scrap of tobacco and a bit of one of several kinds of bark or wood which have the effect of increasing the flow of saliva, all wrapped up in a "pan" leaf. "Pan" is grown in many villages, but the betel nut has to be obtained from the plains, though an inferior wild variety is sometimes used. Lime is either bought in the plains or made from snail shells or egg shells. The habit of eating clay¹ is indulged in by children of both sexes, by women throughout life and especially at the time of pregnancy,

¹ Lang Roth records a similar habit in Borneo (*The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, Vol. I p. 395).—J. P. M.

Wilsen (*op. cit.*, p. 124 *sq.*) reports this habit from S. America and mentions that it is prevalent in the Torres Straits where pregnant women eat it as among the Iavans of Borneo (Hose and McDougall, *op. cit.*, II 153). He suggests that it may supply some want in the normal diet or have a neutralizing effect on some injurious article of food, but states

and by old men. In fact young and middle aged men are the only people who are free from it. The clay used is of two kinds, one, hard and grey, called *longmen* (C) or *alung long* (M), and the other, soft and red, called *lishilongmen* (C) or *alilong* (M). It is dried over the fire in baskets. A single person will consume an amazing quantity in a day, often as much as a large handful. It is said to have an oily taste, and its smell is regarded as pleasant. *Habitués* get a perfect craving for it. It is reputed to be quite harmless. Old people, it is true, are said not to live long when they take to it. But they would probably not live long in any case. After all, if a man lives to such an age that he has to take to Mellin's Food, and then dies without delay, it is not fair to argue that the diet which nourished him in his infancy killed him in his old age.

Games

The taking over of their country by the British has meant more work and less play for Ao children. In the old days when there was always a danger of working parties in the fields being suddenly attacked by raiders, children who were too small to have any chance of escape were left in safety in the village, where they could amuse themselves all day to their hearts' content. Nowadays they have to go with their parents to the fields and do their share of work. But on off days they still shout and play as noisily as children elsewhere in the world. Most of their games consist of imitating their elders. Little boys who are too small to enter the "morung" build little "morungs" of their own with sticks.¹ A rival band comes along and knocks down the little shed, and then there is a battle. They fight with fists and stones, using their cloths as shields.

that in the tribes he writes of geophagy 'rapidly and invariably degenerates into a vice'. He rejects the suggestion that it was introduced into South America by negro slaves also apparently that the clay is a substitute for salt though in this connection it may be noted that it seems to be frequently eaten by deer in the Naga Hills.—J. H. H.

¹ In some Konyak villages there are real morungs for small boys corresponding to the big morungs as Preparatory Schools do to Public Schools.—J. P. M.

Cow dung and mud pellets are also used as missiles, and to make the latter, if water is scarce, each warrior must contribute his quota of urine¹ Sometimes two gangs of boys will fight a regular pitched battle The very small ones carry shields (*wakapchung* C and M) made of bamboo spathes flattened by being warmed over a fire Bigger boys have shields (*uchachung* C, *phanokchung* M) of reeds fastened together² The weapons are either reed spears or little bows (*otsung lashang* C, *auua lichak* M) These bows are of the upright and not the cross bow type³ The arrows have separate blunt bamboo heads and are not feathered⁴

But all games are not warlike Such a striking ceremony as a mithan sacrifice naturally calls for imitation A big leaf is folded and stuck up to resemble a mithan, and is then solemnly slain One of the most entertaining games to watch is that of cow catching A crowd of little boys after much chattering select one of their number to be the "cow" Given a fair start the "cow" tears down the village street, with his pursuers streaming after him He is at last caught and roped and brought back But not without difficulty He plunges about like a troublesome cow, and occasionally lies down and refuses to move—in the annoying way which Indian cattle have Once brought back to the starting point he is "killed," and when all have got their breath back another boy takes his place Often the imitation of animals is more elaborate A boy will play the part of a tiger, for instance His face is blackened, and he is wrapped in cloths and given a tail With terrifying roars and snarls he chases little girls till the brave warriors "kill" him and his "body" is carried off in

¹ Cf *The Sema Nagas* p 105—J H H

² Cf *ibid* p 108 The Kalyo Kengyu of Laruri (Karami) make miniature reed shields of exactly the same pattern as the Sema boys toy for their dead—J H H

³ These bows are occasionally used by grown ups in Mongsen villages for shooting birds The Chongli used to use them but do so no longer For an interesting hint as to how the crossbow may have been evolved from the upright bow see Batchelor *The Ainu and their Folk Lore* pp 462 sqq where upright bows are shown set as spring bows in such a way as to convert them virtually into crossbows—J P M

⁴ Both the Angami and the Sema use toy bows and arrows of this type and cf the Kayan (Hose and McDougall *op cit* II 163)—J H H

triumph to the "morung," sandwiched between two shields. In another game an elephant is the animal hunted. For the make-up for this a large number of cloths are required, and every boy taking part must contribute his sole covering, however cold the day may be. The quarry's limbs and body are swathed round till they are twice their normal size and he is fitted out with a trunk and tusks. After a short hunt he is "killed" and carried off to the "morung." In these animal games all dressing and undressing take place in the "morung," and it is considered important that the boy imitating the animal should be so disguised that girls and other onlookers cannot recognise him. May not these children's games be the degenerate descendants of more solemn masquerades in which the identity of the performers was carefully concealed from the uninitiated?

Of toys in the ordinary sense of the word there are few. Tops (*mezung* C; *sungbang* M) are spun by boys. They may not be used while the rice is growing, except at the *Tsungremmung*, for from seed time to harvest "the earth is pregnant," and to spin tops at such a time would cause illness and misfortune.¹ Stilts (*chui* C and M) are sometimes used by boys.² Bull-roarers, called by the Chongli *ungungtsli* and by the Mongsen *alepti chayip* ("bat's-wing"), are rarely seen nowadays. They are flat slats of wood or bamboo about nine inches long, and may only be used by boys. I have been assured that only very naughty children ever use them and that they are invariably scolded by their parents if they are caught, as the sound of a bull-

¹ Cf. *The Angami Nagas*, p. 104, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 106; Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 84. The apparent discrepancy between my statements in the foot-note to the first passage referred to and in the second of these passages is probably due to variation in custom between different villages, which is often considerable. The Kayans spin at harvest time (Hose and McDougall, *op. cit.*, II 165). Tops are used, though I have no information as to whether the use is seasonal, by the Mundas (Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 492), by the Khasis (Gurdon, *op. cit.*, p. 56), by the Thado Kuki, by the Kachin (Hanson, *op. cit.*, p. 88), by the Chakma of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Lewin, *op. cit.*, p. 183), by the Mantra of the Malay Peninsula (Skeat and Blagden, *op. cit.*, I. 75), by the Tinguian of the Philippine Islands (Cole, *The Tinguian*, p. 274), in the Solomon Islands (Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 342), and by the Pitcairn Islanders, the type used being the same as that of the Solomons (Codrington, *loc. cit.*)—J. H. H.

² As by the Angami, Kuki, and Kachari, and by the Marquesans (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, II, 339 *sq.*)—J. H. H.

roarer is apt to bring illness to the village. Certainly both Aos and Changs most strictly forbid their use when there is sickness about.¹ No string games are now played by Ao children, but up to twenty or thirty years ago a game was in vogue in which you tied up another boy's neck or feet or ankles in such a way that the apparently elaborate entanglement could be undone with one jerk of the string.

Boys play a game called *shuangtsükshür* (C) or *külingtsü lhp* (M) with the seeds of the sword bean creeper.² The seeds, contributed by the players, are set up on edge in line. Each boy in turn throws a stone along the line from the side and tries to knock down every seed. If he can do so he wins a seed from the line and throws again till, if he is sufficiently skilful, he wins the whole line and adds the seeds to his store. If after any throw a single seed remains upright the turn passes to the next boy.

Little girls, whenever they are not busy helping their mothers, play about by themselves. Often they carry stones on their backs and pretend they are babies. There is, however, one girls' sword bean seed game called *ashitsükshür* C or *asachayir* M. A mark is set up and each girl rolls a seed along the ground as far as possible towards it, runs forward and picks up the seed while it is still rolling, and propels it at the mark. The ways in which the seed must be rolled increase in difficulty at each stage of the game. First it is simply rolled along the ground. At the next stage it must be held between the fore and middle fingers of the left hand

¹ Apparently this is the reverse of beliefs further south, for the Sema hang them in the doors of their houses at Mishilimi to keep evil spirits away, and the Angami and the Thado tie them to the plant tops of long bamboos to flutter in the wind with I am almost sure, the same intention. Certainly there seems to be no particular prohibition on using them as they are swung by the Thado and I think by the Sema too to scare birds.—J H H

On the other hand the South Sangtams of Purr (Photsimi) are forbidden to use them.—J P M

² See above, p 116 n. This game with the seed of *entada scandens* is played by most, if not all, Naga tribes: the Meithei's Garos Lusher Khyongtha (of the Chittagong Hill Tracts) Karens and Tinguian (Hodson *The Meithei's*, p 55, Shakespear Lewin Marshall, *Cole opp cit*, pp 53 39, 102, 174 sq, 277, respectively). The Kachin associate this bean with the obsequies of the dead (Hanson *op cit*, p 206) and in another connection I have already pointed out how it seems to be associated with fertility.—J H H

with the back of the hand to the ground and flicked with the forefinger of the right hand. Before it stops rolling it must be picked up and flicked at the mark. Next round it is held in the crook of the elbow of the right arm and jerked forward and picked up and jerked again. Next round again it is gripped between the knees and flicked with the forefinger of the right hand. For the next four turns only the legs are used to propel it, in the first it is placed between the calves and the player jumps and throws it forward, picks it up, and jumps and throws it at the mark as before, in the second it is held between the ankles instead of between the calves, in the third the player places it between her big and second toe and, hopping on the other leg till she is near the mark, throws it at it with her foot, in the fourth, a very difficult one, one leg is crooked right up with the ankle twisted over sideways and the seed carried on the inside of the foot by the hopping player, and thrown with a jerk of the foot when she gets near. For the last two rounds the players stand close to the mark. Each in turn holds her head back, lays the seed on her eye and tries to jerk it up with her head at the mark. In the last turn of all the seed is jerked from the top of the head. This game is not confined to the Aos. I have seen little Konyak girls playing it with great zest.¹

Music and Dancing

Though he has a good enough ear for a tune, the Ao possesses very little in the way of musical instruments. In every "morung" are to be found one or two buffalo horn trumpets (*changzû* C, *pangr* M) which the bucks blow for their amusement. There are two types of bamboo flute (*chamchu* C, *lepli* M). One, about twelve inches long, is used by boys and has two stops. The other, which is played by bigger youths, has three stops and is about thirty six inches long. Occasionally small bamboo instruments are to be seen in Mokongtsu in which the sound

¹ Cf. Hodson, *loc. cit.* The girls play the game in Manipur likewise —
J H H

content to spend gossiping, or just sitting and (presumably) thinking, he marvels at the Englishman who cannot sit alone without picking up a book or a newspaper. In this he differs rather curiously from the Konyak, who, even without the aid of opium, can sleep like a log for long stretches in the day (I have even opened a man's eyes with my fingers without waking him) but whose hands are never idle when he is awake—he always seems to be making a mat or a basket or an ear ornament or something. The awful monotony therefore, which is the chief feature of village life does not worry the Ao. For the greater part of the year his fields need constant attention and one day is much like another. Before dawn the family begins to stir. The wife blows up the fire and the husband probably has a drink of 'madhu'. Water is brought up by the wife and children from the village spring and the morning meal of rice and relish is cooked and eaten. Then the family goes down to the fields, taking a gourd of "madhu" and the midday meal of cold boiled rice and relish wrapped up in leaves. This is eaten in the shelter of the field house when the morning's work is over. After a shorter spell of work the family sets off up the hill home, probably carrying a load or two of fire wood with them. The wife has no time to sit down and rest when she gets in. She goes down to the spring with the children and brings up water again in hollow bamboos. The rice for the evening meal is set to cook and the wife or one of the daughters husks the paddy for the next day. After a supper of boiled rice and relish friends drop in for a chat. But no one is inclined to sit up late, and sleep soon comes.

During the day, when nearly everyone is down in the fields working, the village is almost deserted save for old people, very young children, and a few men whose turn it is to stay in the village and watch for an outbreak of fire or carry urgent messages to the next village. The time passes quickly and pleasantly enough for those left behind. The old men sit about gossiping or making mats, keeping meanwhile a watchful eye on their grandchildren playing near. The old women talk and dry rice or seed cotton. The

men left as watchers for the day sit about talking and sipping "madhu" or occupy themselves with odd jobs. After harvest life is more varied. The men often go off on trading expeditions and the women have more time for spinning and weaving. Festivals and feasts are frequent. On the morning of a dance there is much visiting and drinking of "madhu". Ornaments too have to be got out, and mended if necessary. There is no "scrambling into dress clothes". The finery has to be put on with care, and wives do not let their husbands go to the dancing ground till they have seen that they are properly turned out. The women too have to put on their best things, and it is a curious fact that an Ao woman takes as long to put a hornbill feather in her hair as an English woman does to put her hat on. The festivities begin between three and four and often the singing, dancing and drinking go on till dawn. The village is a sleepy place next day.

PART III

LAWS AND CUSTOMS

Exogamy

THE names of the Ao phratries and clans have already been given in Part I. No language group possesses a word for phratry, but a man would speak of a fellow clansman as being of the same *kidong* (C) or *pachar* (M), women using the corresponding terms *iangtsü* (C) and *pachalar* (M). In the Changki group, which does not appear to be divided into phratries, custom ordains what clans may intermarry. On no account may a man take a wife from his own clan or from a clan which is regarded as "brother" of his clan. Marriage with members of the other language groups is rare, in cases where it occurs a man may not choose his wife from a clan regarded by local custom as "brother" of his own clan. In the Chongli and Mongsen language groups the phratries are strictly exogamous, and a man may not marry a woman belonging either to his own phratry or to the phratry of the other language group which is regarded as corresponding to his own. There is some tendency among Christians to despise this rule of exogamy, as they despise other old customs, but even among them unions within the phratry are very, very rare and are strongly disapproved of by public opinion. Among non-Christian Aos such unions are probably unknown.¹ Not only may not members of the same or corresponding phratries intermarry or have immoral relationships, but conversation which could by the remotest stretch of the imagination be considered indecent is forbidden before persons of the opposite sex of such phratries. The embarrassment felt by members of the

¹ I think a case occurred in Lungkam in my time. The customary punishment was stated to be the looting and destruction of the house of the incestuous couple.—J. H. H.

opposite sex of the same phratry in each other's presence is very real indeed. If, for example, A, a man, and B, a woman, of the same phratry were working together in the fields and C, a man of another phratry, happened to pass singing an improper song, C would be liable to a fine for making A and B feel shame. Even what to us are harmless pleasantries are barred between persons who may not intermarry. For instance I once casually asked a man to tell a woman that she was looking younger than ever. He refused, not because it was palpably untrue, but because she was his sister and he could not make such a remark to her. An Ao would state the rule as "Members of clans which feel shame in each other's presence may not joke together." Were the Aos to know that when on leave I am in the habit of dancing with first cousins on my father's side I should be regarded as an abandoned wretch.

With the proviso that members of corresponding phratries are forbidden to do so, the Chongli and Mongsen groups intermarry freely, and have apparently always done so. Dr Clark states¹ that formerly this practice was forbidden, and relates the story of its origin. Careful enquiries on my part have failed to confirm his statement that such a bar once existed, and the story he gives seems to be part of that of Chinasangba and Itiven.² These two, as it happens, did belong one to the Chongli and the other to the Mongsen group, but tradition gives Mubongchokut as their home and the opposition of their parents as the reason why they could not intermarry.

Though, of course, she is of a different phratry, a man may not marry his father's widow who is not his own mother,³ his mother's sister, or his father's sister's daughter. Nor may a woman marry her father's sister's son.

Relationship

The terms of address used towards relations by the Chongli, Mongsen and Changli language groups are as follows.

¹ *Vide* under *Mongsen*, *Ao Naga Dictionary* by Rev. E. W. Clark, M.A. D.D., p. 477.—J. P. M.

² *Vide* p. 319 *infra*.—J. P. M.

³ With the Semas on the contrary, this is the usual practice (*vide The Sema Nagas*, pp. 136, 185).—J. H. H.

Terms used in Address

English	Chongli	Mongsen	Changk
1 Father's father	<i>opu</i>	<i>aov</i>	<i>aowo</i>
2 Mother's father	<i>opu</i>	<i>aot</i>	<i>aouo</i>
3 Father's mother	<i>otsū</i>	<i>a u</i>	<i>a ū</i>
4 Mother's mother	<i>otsū</i>	<i>a-ū</i>	<i>a-ū</i>
5 Father	<i>oba</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>aba</i>
6 Mother	<i>ucha</i>	<i>1aū</i> (or <i>ala</i> for certain clans see p 174)	<i>aya</i> (or <i>ala</i> for the Lungchari clan)
7 Father's elder brother	<i>obatanbu</i>	<i>abazamba</i> or <i>abat 1 zamba</i>	<i>abajamba</i>
8 Father's younger brother	<i>obatanubu</i>	<i>abanūzaba</i>	<i>asa</i>
9 Father's brother's wife	If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>uchatan-ū</i> if older, and <i>ucha tanuzū</i> if younger than speaker's mother. If descended from man of speaker's phratry through the female line <i>amu</i> ²	If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>aūtanu</i> If descended from man of speaker's phratry through the female line <i>amu</i>	If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>ayajamu</i> if older and <i>anu-ai</i> if younger than speaker's mother. Otherwise <i>aya</i> with name
10 Father's sister	<i>onū</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>ala</i>
11 Father's sister's husband	If descended through his mother from a man of the speaker's phratry <i>anol</i> If descended from a man of the speaker's mother's phratry <i>alhu</i>	If descended through his mother from a man of the speaker's phratry <i>kūmnak</i> If descended from a man of the speaker's mother's phratry <i>alhu</i>	If descended from a man of the speaker's mother's phratry <i>alhu</i> Otherwise <i>aba</i> with name
12 Mother's brother	<i>alhu</i>	<i>alhu</i>	<i>alhu</i>

¹ There is a very faint final v, which cannot be represented in writing — J P M

Mr Davis gives *aru* rule Grierson *Linguistic Survey of India* III is 251. *Are* is the word for "Mother" in the Dzunokhehna Angami villages — J H H

² This is regarded as covering all cases. As one would expect in a tribe where marriage usually takes place within a comparatively small circle, some previous relationship either in the male or female line is always assumed to exist. The terms used are based throughout on this assumption — J P M

English	Chongli	Mongsen	Changk
13 Mother's brother's wife	If of speaker's phratry <i>onā</i> If not so related but of speaker's grandmother's phratry <i>otsū</i> Otherwise if des- cended through her mother from man of speaker's phratry <i>amu</i>	If of speaker's phratry <i>ai</i> If not so related but of speaker's grandmother's phratry <i>azū</i> Otherwise if des- cended through her mother from man of speaker's phratry <i>kumo</i>	If of speaker's phratry <i>ata</i> If not so related but of speaker's grandmother's phratry <i>azū</i> If of neither of these phratries <i>ant</i>
14 Mother's elder sister	<i>uchatanzū</i>	<i>āzūnū</i>	<i>ayajamu</i>
15 Mother's younger sister	<i>uchatanuzū</i>	<i>ānūza</i>	<i>anu-ai</i>
16 Mother's sister's husband	If of speaker's phratry <i>obaiambu</i> or <i>obatanubu</i> according to age ¹ Otherwise <i>okhu</i> if older than speaker or <i>anok</i> if younger	If of speaker's phratry <i>abatū</i> <i>zamba</i> or <i>aban</i> <i>zaba</i> according to age Otherwise <i>akhu</i> ²	If of speaker's phratry <i>abajamba</i> or <i>asa</i> according to age Other- wise <i>aowo</i> with name <i>aba</i> with name or <i>anga</i> according to age ³
17 Wife's father	If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>okhu</i> Otherwise <i>anok</i> it being assumed that in this case his mother must be of speaker's phratry	If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>akhu</i> Otherwise <i>kāmnak</i> it being assumed that in this case his mother must be of speaker's phratry	If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>akhu</i> Otherwise <i>aowo</i> with name or <i>aba</i> with name according to age
18 Wife's mother	If of speaker's phratry <i>onā</i> If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>uchatanzū</i> or <i>uchatanuzū</i> ac- cording to her age relative to that of the speaker's mother If not of speaker's mother's clan but of his grand- mother's clan	If of speaker's phratry <i>ai</i> Otherwise <i>āzūnū</i> or <i>ānūza</i> accord- ing to age relative to that of speaker's mother the terms being used loosely	If of speaker's phratry <i>ata</i> If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>aja</i> If not of speaker's mother's phratry but of his grand- mother's phratry <i>azū</i> If no such relation traceable <i>ayajamu</i> with name, or <i>anuzai</i> with name according to age

¹ The speaker assumes that relationship to justify these terms could be traced somewhere—J P M

² The speaker assumes that if he is not connected with his (the speaker's) phratry through the male line he must be somehow connected with the speaker's mother's phratry. The terms are here used loosely—J P M

³ The use of such terms as merely terms of affection as it were is frequent—J P M

English	Chongh <i>otsū</i> Otherwise <i>amu</i> , the neces- sary relation being assumed	Mongsen	Changli
19 Husband's father	As for wife's father	As for wife's father	As for wife's father
20 Husband's mother	As for wife's mother	As for wife's mother	As for wife's mother
21 Elder brother (M S)	<i>ut</i> ¹	<i>at</i>	<i>anga</i>
22 Younger brother (M S)	<i>topu</i> or name	<i>tuba</i> or <i>lānu</i> or name	<i>lānu</i> or name
23 Elder brother (W S)	<i>ut</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>anga</i>
24 Younger brother (W S)	<i>topu</i> or name	<i>tuba</i> or <i>lānu</i> or name	<i>lānu</i> or name
25 Elder sister (M S)	<i>oya</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>ata</i>
26 Younger sister (M S)	<i>tunā</i> or name	<i>tūtila</i> or name	<i>lānu</i> or name
27 Elder sister (W S)	<i>oya</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>ata</i>
28 Younger sister (W S)	<i>tunā</i> or name	<i>tūtila</i> or name	<i>lānu</i> or name
29 Father's brother's son	As brother	As brother	As brother
30 Father's brother's daughter	As sister	As sister	As sister
31 Father's sister's son	<i>ano</i>	<i>kūmnal</i>	<i>kūmnal</i>
32 Father's sister's daughter	<i>amu</i>	<i>kūmo</i>	<i>kūm</i>

¹ I find among my notes a remark that *ut* is used in addressing a real brother whereas *kūtil* is used in addressing an acquaintance to whom it is desired to give the courtesy title of 'elder brother'. It is possible that the possessive of the first person which consists of a single vowel (e.g. the Angami *a* or the Sema *i*) belongs to one language group and the form in *lā* or *lā* (e.g. Chan, *la*, Thado *lā*) to another. Like the Ao the Chang uses a vowel form of possessive in addressing his relatives and the other form in speaking of them. The Thado uses an aspirated vowel form (*he*) in almost all cases for address, and the other form in reference but makes an exception in the case of a younger brother or child, whom he addresses as *lā nao* invariably, no such expression as *he nao* being known, which suggests perhaps that the *he* implies a respect not associated with *lā*. —J II 11

English	Chongli	Mongsen	Changk
33 Mother's sister's son.	As brother, because of same blood	As brother	If of speaker's phratry <i>anga</i> if older, and <i>kānu</i> if younger than speaker, and <i>kāu</i> if of the same age. If not of speaker's phratry <i>tiyachem</i>
34 Mother's sister's daughter	As sister, because of same blood as speaker	As sister	If of speaker's phratry <i>ata</i> if older, and <i>kānu</i> if younger than speaker, and <i>atānu</i> if of the same age. If not of speaker's phratry <i>tiyachem</i>
35 Mother's brother's son	<i>olhu</i>	<i>alhu</i>	<i>alhu</i>
36 Mother's brother's daughter	<i>uchalanuzū</i>	<i>aūnāza</i>	<i>anuzā</i> with name, <i>aya</i> with name or <i>ata</i> with name according to age
37 Husband	Name When speaking of him to a third person <i>lābuba</i>	Name When speaking of him to a third person <i>lābaza</i>	Name When speaking of him to a third person <i>lābaza</i>
38 Wife	Name When speaking of her to a third person <i>kāpūtā</i>	Name When speaking of her to a third person <i>lānā</i>	Name When speaking of her to a third person <i>kānā</i>
39 Wife's brother	If his mother is of speaker's phratry <i>anol</i> . Otherwise <i>olhu</i> , the necessary relationship through the speaker's mother being assumed.	If his mother is of speaker's phratry <i>kāmnal</i> . Otherwise <i>alhu</i>	If his mother is of speaker's phratry <i>lāmnal</i> . Otherwise <i>alhu</i> or name
40 Wife's elder sister	If her mother is of speaker's phratry <i>amū</i> . Otherwise loosely <i>amūmūl</i>	If her mother is of speaker's phratry <i>lāmā</i> . Otherwise loosely <i>amūmūl</i>	If her mother is of speaker's phratry <i>kāmā</i> . Otherwise loosely <i>amūmūl</i>
41 Wife's younger sister	As for wife's elder sister	As for wife's elder sister	As for wife's elder sister
42 Husband's elder brother	Generally <i>olhu</i> however related by blood in some villages	<i>alhu</i> Name strictly for bidden	<i>lārham</i> Name forbidden

English	Chongli	Mongsen.	Changk
	<i>anol</i> if his mother is of speaker's phratry Name strictly for bidden		
43 Husband's younger brother	<i>olhu</i> or <i>anol</i> as above. Name not forbidden	Name used	<i>karham</i> Name not forbidden.
44a Husband's elder sister	<i>amu</i> , however related by blood Name forbidden	<i>aünānā</i> or <i>aünāza</i> , according to age Name forbidden	<i>ihung</i> (apparently a general term used by a woman when speaking of a woman of a different phratry).
44b Husband's younger sister	<i>amu</i> Name not forbidden	Name used	<i>ihung</i>
45 Wife's elder sister's husband	<i>kāzaba</i>	<i>kāzaba</i>	<i>kāzaba</i>
46 Wife's younger sister's husband	<i>kāzaba</i>	<i>kāzaba</i>	<i>kāzaba</i>
47 Husband's elder brother's wife	If of speaker's phratry <i>oya</i> If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>uchātānuzā</i> . Otherwise <i>amu</i> , the necessary relationship being assumed	If of speaker's clan <i>at</i> If of speaker's mother's clan <i>aünāza</i> Other wise <i>kāmo</i>	If of speaker's phratry <i>at</i> Otherwise <i>ihung</i>
48 Husband's younger brother's wife	If of speaker's phratry <i>iānā</i> If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>uchātānuzā</i> . Otherwise <i>amu</i>	Name used	If of speaker's phratry <i>kānu</i> Otherwise <i>ihung</i>
49 Wife's brother's wife	If of speaker's phratry <i>oya</i> or <i>iānā</i> according to age If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>uchātānuzā</i> . Otherwise <i>amu</i>	If of speaker's phratry <i>at</i> or <i>iātāla</i> according to age If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>aünāza</i> Other wise <i>kāmo</i>	If of speaker's phratry <i>at</i> or <i>kānu</i> according to age Other wise name used
50 Husband's sister's husband	If of speaker's phratry <i>ut</i> or <i>lopu</i> according to age Other wise <i>olhu</i> , the necessary relationship being assumed.	If of speaker's phratry <i>at</i> or <i>kānu</i> according to age Other wise <i>alhu</i> .	If of speaker's phratry <i>ang</i> or <i>kānu</i> according to age Other wise name used.

English	Chongli	Mongsen	Changk:
51 Elder sister's husband (M S)	If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>okhu</i> Otherwise <i>labang</i> if older than speaker and <i>anol</i> if younger the necessary descent being assumed	<i>labang</i>	<i>lūchanakba</i>
52 Younger sister's husband (M S)	As 51	<i>labang</i>	<i>kūchanakba</i>
53 Elder sister's husband (W S)	If of speaker's mother's phratry <i>okhu</i> Otherwise <i>lūthang</i>	<i>lūthung</i>	<i>lūrham</i>
54 Younger sister's husband (W S)	As 53	<i>lūthung</i>	<i>lūrham</i>
55 Elder brother's wife (M S)	If of speaker's mother's clan <i>uchatanuzū</i> Otherwise <i>amu</i> Name not used	If of speaker's mother's clan <i>amūla</i> Other wise <i>lūmo</i> Name forbidden	If of speaker's mother's clan <i>amūla</i> Other wise <i>lūm</i> or name
56 Younger brother's wife (M S)	As above save that name may be used	Name used	As for elder brother's wife
57 Elder brother's wife (W S)	As for M S	As for M S	<i>lūhung</i>
58 Younger brother's wife (W S)	As for M S	As for M S	<i>lūhung</i>
59 Son's wife's parents	Names used unless otherwise related	Names used unless otherwise related	Names used unless otherwise related
60 Daughter's husband's parents	As for 59	As for 59	As for 59
61 Son	<i>topu</i> or name	<i>tū</i> or name	<i>al</i> or <i>lūchaba</i> or name
62 Daughter	<i>tūnū</i> or name	<i>tūt'la</i> or name	<i>lūchaba</i> or name
63 Elder brother's son (M S)	As for son	As for son	As for son
64 Elder brother's daughter (M S)	As for daughter	As for daughter	As for daughter
65 Younger brother's son (M S)	As for son	As for son	As for son

	English	Chongli	Mongsen	Changk
66	Younger brother's daughter (M S)	As for daughter	As for daughter	As for daughter
67	Elder sister's son (M S)	<i>anok</i>	<i>kūmnak</i>	<i>kumna</i>
68	Elder sister's daughter (M S)	<i>amu</i>	<i>kūmo</i>	<i>kūm</i>
69	Younger sister's son (M S)	As 67	As 67	As 67
70	Younger sister's daughter (M S)	As 68	As 68	As 68
71	Elder brother's son (W S)	As for son	As for son	<i>kūnu</i>
72	Elder brother's daughter (W S)	As for daughter	As for daughter	<i>kūnu</i>
73	Younger brother's son (W S)	As 71	As 71	As 71
74	Younger brother's daughter (W S)	As 72	As 72	As 72
75	Elder sister's son (W S)	As 71	As 71	<i>ak</i> : or name
76	Elder sister's daughter (W S)	As 72	As 72	<i>at</i> : or name
77	Younger sister's son (W S)	As 71	As 71	<i>ak</i> : or name
78	Younger sister's daughter (W S)	As 72	As 72	<i>at</i> : or name
79	Wife's brother's son	If of speaker's grandfather's phratry <i>opu</i> Otherwise <i>anok</i> the necessary descent being assumed	If of speaker's grandfather's clan <i>av</i> Other wise <i>kūmnak</i>	<i>kūmnak</i> if necessary relationship exists Other wise name
80	Wife's brother's daughter	If the speaker's wife is of his grandmothers phratry <i>otsā</i> Otherwise <i>amu</i>	If the speaker's wife is of his grandmothers phratry <i>asā</i> Otherwise <i>kūmo</i>	<i>kūm</i> : if necessary relationship exists Other wise name

	English	Chongli	Mongsen.	Changkī
81	Wife & sister & son	As for son	As for son	Name
82	Wife & sister & daughter	As for daughter	As for daughter	Name
83	Husband's brother & son	As for son	As for son	Name
84	Husband's brother & daughter	As for daughter	As for daughter	Name
85	Husband's sister & son	If of speaker's phratry and older <i>ut</i> Other wise <i>topu</i>	If of speaker's phratry and older <i>at</i> Other wise <i>tāba</i>	Name
86	Husband's sister & daughter	If of speaker's phratry and older than speaker <i>oja</i> Otherwise <i>tānā</i>	If of speaker's phratry and older than speaker <i>at</i> Otherwise <i>tātā</i>	Name
87	Daughter's husband	If his mother is of the speaker's phratry <i>and</i> Otherwise <i>abang</i>	If his mother is of the speaker's phratry <i>lāmna</i> Otherwise <i>kā bang</i>	If called <i>kāmna</i> before this term still used in addressing him Otherwise <i>kācha nakba</i> which is always used in speaking of him to a third person.
88	Son's wife	If she is of the speaker's mother's phratry <i>u chā t a n u z ā</i> Otherwise <i>am</i> the necessary relationship being assumed	<i>lāmo</i> , the necessary relationship being assumed	<i>lāmi</i> the necessary relationship being assumed
89	Son's son	<i>samchir</i>	<i>kāsamchar</i>	<i>kāsamchār</i>
90	Son's daughter	<i>samchir</i>	<i>kāsamchar</i>	<i>kāsamchār</i>
91	Daughter's son.	<i>samchir</i>	<i>kāsamchar</i>	<i>kāsamchār</i>
92	Daughter's daughter	<i>samchir</i>	<i>kāsamchar</i>	<i>kāsamchār</i>

Descriptive terms for Relationships

	English	Chongli	Mongsen	Changkī
1	Grandfather (paternal and maternal)	<i>topu</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tuwo</i>
2	Grandmother (paternal and maternal).	<i>totā</i>	<i>te ā</i>	<i>te ā</i>

English	Chongli	Mongsen	Changk
3 Father	<i>tobu</i>	<i>tāba</i>	<i>tāba</i>
4 Mother	<i>tetsū</i>	<i>tū</i>	<i>tuyu</i>
5 Father's elder brother, and so a man of the father's phratry and generation older than the father	<i>tobutanubu</i>	<i>tubatūzamba</i>	<i>tūbajamba</i>
6 Father's younger brother, and so a man of the father's phratry and generation younger than the father.	<i>tobutanubu</i>	<i>tūbanūzaba.</i>	<i>tēsa</i>
7 Mother's elder sister, and so a woman of the mother's phratry and generation older than the mother	<i>tetsūtanū</i>	<i>tūtuzūnū</i>	<i>tuyujamu</i>
8 Mother's younger sister, and so a woman of the phratry and generation younger than the mother	<i>tetsūtanuzū</i>	<i>tūnusa</i>	<i>tēnuzai</i>
9 The son of a woman of the phratry of the party spoken of	<i>tanoī</i>	<i>tūmnal</i>	<i>tūtāmnalba</i>
10 The daughter of a woman of the phratry of the party spoken of	<i>tamu</i>	<i>tūmo</i>	<i>tūmi</i>
11 A man of the phratry of the mother of the party spoken of	<i>tokhū</i>	<i>tūkhū</i>	<i>tūkhū</i>
12 Woman of the phratry of party spoken of, but of generation above him	<i>tānu</i>	<i>tūti</i>	<i>tēti</i>
13 Elder brother (M and W S) and so elder men of same generation and phratry	<i>tūti</i>	<i>tūti</i>	<i>tūnga</i>

English	Chongli	Mongsen	Changki.
4 Younger brother (M and W S) and so younger man of same generation and phratry	<i>tonu</i>	<i>tānu</i>	<i>tānu</i>
15 Elder sister (M and W S) and so elder woman of same generation and phratry	<i>tāja</i>	<i>tāta</i>	<i>teta</i>
16 Younger sister (M and W S) and so younger woman of same generation and phratry	<i>tonu</i>	<i>tātala</i>	<i>tānu</i>
17 Mother's sister's son	As brother	As brother	As brother if of same phratry Otherwise <i>tija chem</i>
18 Mother's sister's daughter	As sister	As sister	As sister if of same phratry Otherwise <i>tija chem</i> .
19 Husband	<i>tābuba</i> or <i>tikinongpo</i>	<i>tābaa</i>	<i>tābaa</i>
20 Wife	<i>tāputsa</i> or <i>tikinongtrū</i>	<i>tānā</i>	<i>tānho</i>
21 Husband's elder or younger brother	Usually <i>tolhu</i> Sometimes <i>tanok</i> if necessary relationship exists	No term <i>Tākhū</i> generally used the necessary relationship being assumed	<i>tārham</i>
22 Husband's elder sister	<i>tamu</i>	No term	No term
23 Husband's younger sister	<i>tamu</i>	No term	No term
24 Wife's sister's husband	<i>tāaba</i>	<i>tāaba</i>	<i>tāaba</i>
25 Elder or younger sister's husband (M S)	<i>tolhu</i> or <i>tanok</i> if necessary relationship exists Otherwise <i>tābang</i>	<i>tābang</i>	<i>tāchanakba</i>
26 Elder or younger sister's husband (W S)	<i>tolhu</i> generally used No term	No term <i>Tākhū</i> generally used	<i>tārham</i>
27 Elder or younger brother's wife (M and W S).	No term <i>Tamu</i> generally used	No term <i>Tāmo</i> generally used	No term.

related both by blood and marriage the term denoting blood relationship is invariably selected in preference to that denoting relationship by marriage. For this relationship, however distant, through the father, mother or even grandmother, is taken into account. Examples of the general terms in use are as follows. *Olhu* (C) or *alhu* (M) is the word used in addressing a man of the speaker's mother's phratry. *Anok* (C) or *kūmnak* (M) is the term of address for the son of a woman of the speaker's clan. The daughter of such a woman is addressed as *amu* (C) or *kūmo* (M). *Anok* and *kūmnak* with their female equivalents may never be used by a woman. These general terms cover all relationships outside the phratry for which there are no special terms. If no relationship can be traced through the father, some can be traced through the mother if you go back far enough. The Ao simply does not contemplate relationships solely by marriage, with no blood relationship whatever on either side. It is noticeable that the Changli group is richer in special terms than either of the other groups.

Certain relations may not address each other by name. No one may address father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, elder brother, or elder sister by name. For a man a similar prohibition extends to his elder brother's wife, and his wife's father, mother, elder brother and elder sister, and for a woman to her elder sister's husband and her husband's father, mother, elder brother and elder sister.

Husband and wife must always address each other by name, and never as "husband" or "wife". A man is expected to show respect and obedience to his parents in law and brothers in law. A quarrel with an elder blood relation such as father, mother, uncle, aunt, elder brother, elder sister and so on is a serious thing and is believed to entail illness, poor crops and other evil fortune. Reconciliation is necessary. The younger of the two persons quarrelling provides a pig and sends word to the elder to come and make up their differences. The latter comes to the younger's house, bringing a cock with him. Both sit in the outer room and the younger kills both the pig and the cock, declaring as he does so that he will quarrel no more.

English	Chongli	Mongsen	Changkli
28 Son's wife's parents	No term described by some blood relationship if such exists	No term described by some blood relationship if such exists	No term described by some blood relationship if such exists
29 Daughter's husband's parents	As 27	As 27	As 27
30 Son and so man of same phratry in generation below	<i>ichir</i>	<i>ichar</i>	<i>techaba</i>
31 Daughter and so woman of same phratry in generation below	<i>ic'ir tetsā</i>	<i>ic'ar anuts</i>	<i>tec'ala</i>
32 Daughter's husband	<i>taba g</i>	<i>tābang</i>	<i>tāchanalba</i>
33 Son's wife	No special term <i>Tama</i> generally used on assumption that necessary relationship exists	No special term <i>Tāma</i> used on the assumption that the necessary relationship exists	<i>tumi</i> the necessary relationship being assumed
34 Grandchild	<i>samchir</i>	<i>tāsamcl'ar</i>	<i>tāsamchār</i>

Among the Angamis and Lhotas a special word for mother is used in addressing the women of one particular phratry¹. There is no such rule among the Aos, but a special word *ala* ("mother"), is used by Mongsen speakers when addressing the women of certain clans. These are the Achamr Alapachar, Yimchenchar clans and their sub clans of the Mongsen group and the Lungchuri clan of the Changkai group.

The paucity of words expressing relationship is noticeable. Broad categories typical of the group system of relationship are the rule. A man puts all men of his clan of his father's generation into the father category, those of his own generation into the brother category, all women of his mother's clan and generation into the mother category, and so on. Further, the terms "father," "mother," etc., together with the name, are often used as terms of respect or affection towards persons whose birth does not entitle them to be addressed in this way. In addressing a person

¹ *The Angami Nagas* p. 110 sq. *The Lhota Nagas* pp. 94 n. and xxxi. I am not sure whether the Rengmas follow the Ao or the Angami plan — J. H. H.

related both by blood and marriage the term denoting blood relationship is invariably selected in preference to that denoting relationship by marriage. For this relationship, however distant, through the father, mother or even grand mother, is taken into account. Examples of the general terms in use are as follows. *Okhu* (C) or *akhu* (M) is the word used in addressing a man of the speaker's mother's phratry. *Anoh* (C) or *lāmnał* (M) is the term of address for the son of a woman of the speaker's clan. The daughter of such a woman is addressed as *amu* (C) or *lāmo* (M). *Anoh* and *lāmnał* with their female equivalents may never be used by a woman. These general terms cover all relationships outside the phratry for which there are no special terms. If no relationship can be traced through the father, some can be traced through the mother if you go back far enough. The Ao simply does not contemplate relationships solely by marriage, with no blood relationship whatever on either side. It is noticeable that the Changli group is richer in special terms than either of the other groups.

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The two exchange drinks of "madhu," and cook and eat the pig and cock. Should the elder relation die before a reconciliation can be effected he must be approached even in the next world. For this purpose a ceremony called *Mangyemao* (C) or *Mangzunruk* (M, "sending meat to the dead") is performed. A "medicine man" is engaged to meet the dead man in a dream, and, after offering him appropriate presents, to persuade him to make up the quarrel. In this world too a small offering of food, thread, etc., is placed in front of his corpse platform.

Social organization

The whole tribe has never been united under one head. Till the country was taken over village fought merrily with village and an Ao head was as good as any other. Yet a tribal feeling does exist, and a very sharp distinction is drawn between Aos and those so unfortunate as to be born of another race. Even in the old head hunting days loosely knit leagues gave the tribe a certain amount of political cohesion. Ungma used to receive tribute from, and extended a not very effective protection to, the villages of the Langbangkong and Asukong ranges, while Lungkam held a similar position with regard to the villages of the Changkikong. Of these Waromung in turn took tribute from the Chapvukong settlements. Longsa on the one side and Changki, with her daughter villages of Chapvu and Nancham, on the other stood out from the leagues, with members of which they were incidentally usually at war. Ungma and Lungkam had too wholesome a fear of each other to fight. As with all Nagas the real political unit of the tribe is the village. The "khels" are run with separate organizations, but a village usually united for war and kept at least the more important *amungs* in common. For instance the Mongsen "khel" and Chongli "khel" of Molongtdi has each its own council, but the village always united against a common foe, and all the chief *amungs* are observed by the whole village on the same day. For most purposes, however, the social unit is the "khel."

The age group system

The organization of the village is based on two main principles. First the whole village is divided into age-groups (*yungar C*, *yungar M*), to which the various communal duties are assigned. Secondly the control of affairs lies with a council, whose method of election and tenure of office vary in the different language groups. There is nothing corresponding to an hereditary chieftainship. The system of age groups is in brief as follows. Every three years a new group of boys born within the same three years enters the "morung". It is these groups that I have termed age groups. A boy remains in his original age group till he dies, each group taking its name from some prominent member. Girls also have their age groups, but the system does not play a very prominent part in female life. Boys on first entering the "morung" have certain menial duties to perform, till, in three years' time, a new age group takes their place and the fags of yesterday blossom into bloods for the next three years of "morung" life. After his time in the "morung" is over a man settles down and marries, and probably in time becomes a councillor. His term of office over, he very likely becomes a priest till he dies. But all through his life he remains a member of his original age group. For instance, when pigs are being ringed each age group is assigned a particular portion of the fence to make, or when village paths are being cleared each group is given a stretch. From the cradle to the grave a man is part of a machine. Only on these lines could a village of perhaps two thousand souls, without king or chief, be run.

The Chingki organization illustrates the working of the age group system particularly clearly. Every three years a new group of boys, of ages ranging from about twelve to fourteen, enters the "morung". These are called *noza barihori* ("unripe gang"). They must sleep in the "morung" and work like slaves for the elder boys. In three years a new group takes their place and they become *talapahori* ("ripening gang"). They now make the newcomers work for them just as hard as they worked. They

need not sleep in the "morung" if they do not want to, and may marry towards the end of their time. Their duty is to carry messages¹ and work in general for the village. After three years of this they become *chuchenbahori* ("morung leaders gang"). The "morung" is under their control, and in the old days youths first went on raids when they reached this stage. Then, after another three years, they become *okchangshamichariori* ("pig's leg eaters"). The name indicates that they get the legs of pigs killed at "morung" feasts. Their duties are much the same as for the previous three years. For the next three years they are *kidong mabang* ("clan leaders"). On entering this period they have no more to do with the "morung," they have left their youth behind them and are villagers of standing. After this they become *khonri* ("load carriers") for three years. They supply men to carry loads containing sacrificial pigs, fowls and so on at ceremonies, and receive small shares of the councillors' meat. At the end of this period they become councillors (*tatari*) for three years, and, with the advice of yet older groups, run the village. After this short term of office, during which they get the biggest shares of meat, they become *maozamba telakba*—assistant councillors. They still obtain shares of meat, but only very small ones. Finally, after three years as assistant councillors, they become *maozamba temamba*. A few of this last group pass on to be priests (*patir*), but for most men this is the last stage. They represent the age and experience of the village and the *tatari* are expected to ask their advice on any matter of importance.

In the Chongli and Mongsen system fewer groups are recognized. The Chongli custom is as follows. New entrants into the "morung" are called *songpur* and have to work for the older boys for three years. They then become *sangmen* for another three years. While in this group they can carry food for raiders, but are considered

¹ Under this system a message can be sent from end to end of the Ao country by day or night, the man or boy on duty for the time being carrying on the letter to the next village. The same system appears to exist in Fiji under the name of *rakandewa* (Brewster *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 137) letters being carried in exactly the same split stalk of "*ekra* (*andropogon*) grass (*ibid* p. 216)—J II II

too young to take part in the fighting After this a boy becomes an *achuzen*, a class which includes all young unmarried men These provide the chief fighting force After marriage men are simply called *arichungr* ("morung men") They cease to sleep in the "morung," but remain connected with it till they are about thirty. That is to say, they help at repairing it and subscribe to and share in "morung" feasts After that, if they frequent it, it is only as guests

In the Mongsen language group the youngest class of boys is called *songyur* These, in turn, after three years blossom into *tunabang* As soon as one of this class marries he joins the class called *pür*, in which he remains for four or five years, before he enters the *chuyenr* group These latter are often spoken of simply as *arichunungr* ("morung men"), and in this group a man remains until some member of his age group has a son old enough to enter the "morung" The cycle of age groups is then complete and members of that *yengar* have no more to do with the "morung"

The "morung" system

A man does not usually speak of himself as belonging to such and such a "khel" of a village, but to such and such a "morung," of which a "khel" may contain two or three They are organized on the clan system, boys of one, or perhaps two, clans occupying the same "morung" Should most of a boy's friends happen to be members of another clan he may leave the rest of his clan and join his friends' "morung," but he is supposed to help his ancestral "morung" when necessary, though he cannot be fined for not doing so New boys enter the "morung" in the autumn, at the time when the village fences are renewed Of the two hearths in the "morung" the new boys use the inner one for their first period of three years, the one nearer the door being reserved for the senior classes Men who are now middle aged say that when they first entered the "morung" they were very severely disciplined, not to say bullied They were, for instance, held over the fire and compelled to endure the heat without a cry Or they

were made to show their pluck by being sent alone on a dark night to fetch a bamboo from a certain clump. The boy sent was allowed no torch or weapon, and had to gnaw the bamboo through with his teeth or hack it off with a sharp stone. Or, again, a boy would be sent to leave a torch at some particular spot far away in the jungle and come back alone in the dark without a light. In the morning the older boys would go and see if the burnt remains of the torch were in the proper place. Nowadays boys have an easier time, but a considerable number of duties falls to their lot, and for the first three years a boy's life is very like that of a frog at an English Public School. Boys of the lowest class must keep a supply of torches in the "morung" for travellers passing through the village late in the evening, they have to massage the bigger boys' legs when they come in tired from the fields,¹ they are responsible for the wood and water needed for cooking,² they must make pipes and sharpen "daos" for their seniors. In fact, for three years they have to do what they are told and do it quickly—a most excellent system. When the junior grade, at the end of three years, moves up to make room for a younger group every member of it must contribute three good logs of wood, as a sort of entrance fee into the next grade. These are piled up by the door and used as firewood.

No one who is no longer a member of a "morung" can interfere with its internal affairs, and anyone attempting to do so can be fined. A "morung" is a microcosm of the village and has its own council reminding one strongly again of a Public School with its prefects. A typical Chongli council would be composed as follows: one *Unger* (head), one *Tonglu* (assistant head), fourteen *Tatar* (councilors), two *Tingyar* (works overseers) who see that repairs

¹ The same duty falls to the lot of the younger members of the *Dhums* *Lima* of the Oraons which is virtually the same institution as the Ao *morung* system and like it is worked on a three year age group basis (Roy *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur* pp. 244 *seq.* 247, Hallen *The Oraons* p. 215 quoted by Hodson *The Native Culture of India* p. 20)—J. H. H.

² So too the boys of the *Lushai zawlbud* another instance of the same institution (Stakespear, *Lushai Kuki Clans* p. 20)—J. H. H.

etc., are properly carried out, and two *Yibutir* ("madhu" carriers), who must see that every guest has food and drink when the "morung" entertains other men of the village on such occasions as the *Moatsa* festival. This council, which consists of senior boys, settles all disputes and quarrels arising in the "morung" and inflicts and eats fines of pork, the parents of the boys at fault having to pay, of course.

The village councillors.

The most striking feature of the Chongli system is that at the end of every generation all the councillors of a "khel" vacate office and a new body takes their place. Every Chongli village has a standardized generation of so many years, usually between twenty-five and thirty. When the time comes to vacate office there is almost always a violent quarrel. The office holders, reluctant to relinquish their power and shares of meat, argue that their time is not up yet, while the younger generation are eager to take their place. It must have often happened in the past that the old men were able to put up a stout fight and prolong their period of office, or that the young men have been able to oust their elders before their time was up, for might is often right in Naga life.¹ This would account for the local differences in the length of a generation. In Long-misa, for instance, one "khel" changes its council every six years, a result, as is acknowledged, of continual pressure by the younger men. The Chongli recognize a cycle of five generations,² which are named as follows: *Mechen-sangr* ("those who do not run away"), *Mopungsangr* ("wind people"), *Koshasangr* ("broken people," i.e. men

¹ I remember a case in point occurring at Mongsenyimt. The "generation" period used to be 30 years. In the course of a quarrel as to when the existing *tatar* were to vacate office, the successors were backed by the village and it was emphatically decided that the real period was not 30, but 25 years, in order to get the old men out. What will happen when the 25 years expire and the present holders find that they preferred to eat their cake in 1917 rather than keep it for 1942 remains to be seen — J. H. H.

² One is reminded of the "five stems" of the Chinese Shan cycle (Cochrane, *The Shans*, I 139, Scott and Hardman, *op cit.*, I. 1 208), this stem being a period of 12 years in a cycle of 60.—J. H. H.

of this generation die young), *Riyongsangr* ("many people"), *Metemsangr* ("equal people"). The meanings given are the traditional ones and very likely fictitious. Dr. Clark¹ translates the names as follows: "truthful generation," "bad generation," "swaggering generation," "warlike generation," and "united generation." Each generation of councillors takes the name of the cycle coming after that of its predecessors, till *Metemsangr* is reached, when a fresh start is made at *Mechensangr*. As the length of a generation varies locally, all villages are not in the same generation at the same time.

To debate matters of importance all the councillors (*Tatar*) of a village will meet. But among the Chongh they are not organized as one body. In reality they consist of a number of bodies called *minden* or *Tatar minden*, of which each "khel" will contain two or three. Each *minden* is self-contained. This organization is closely bound up with the complicated system of shares of meat by which the Ao lays such store. In fact, anyone wishing to enquire what a man's status is in the body of councillors asks what his share of meat is. This meat consists of pigs paid as fines, animals sacrificed on various occasions, and animals of which part has been given away as a present to some distinguished stranger. When some strong character finds that in his *minden* he can only get a small share of meat, he attempts to split off and found a new *minden* where his share will be bigger. This effort is stoutly resisted and is very rarely successful. But the tendency probably accounts for the multiplicity of *mindens* existing to-day. A complete *minden* is composed as follows: (1) Four men called *Tazangpur* (*tazang* = the lower part of the trunk of a tree), who get meat from the haunch and are the leading men of the *minden*. The senior is called *Tazangtuba* or *Tazangpuba*. (2) Four men called *Tampur* ("middle men") who share the meat of the neck. The senior of them is called *Tamtazang*, and the two senior together *Tamtenyemr* ("middle buyers"). It is the duty of these two to see to the buying of all meat for sacrifices and presents

¹ *Vide* under *sangr*, p. 636, *op. cit.* — J. P. M.

to strangers, and to keep an account of what is spent on meat throughout the year. When it is necessary to consult a "medicine man" on behalf of the village all the *Tamtenyemr* of the village meet and go to him together. (3) One *Ungr*, who is the titular head of the *minden*. If possible he must belong to the *Pongenr* or *Yimsungr* clan, or at any rate to the *Pongen* phratry. If the phratry is not represented in the village the post may be held by a man of the *Lungham* phratry. All meetings are held in, and all animals killed in front of, his house. He gets the head. (4) One *Tonglu* who is the *Ungr*'s assistant and gets a head if several animals are killed at the same time. (5) One man of the *Cham* phratry, who gets the heart. (6) Two men of the *Lungham* phratry, who get the kidneys, breast and undercut. (7) Two, four, six or some other even number of men called *Shosanglak* or *Chitangungdang* ('tasters of meat and drink'). They form, in fact, a Kitchen Committee, who see that the cooking is good on festal occasions. They get meat from the stomach. (8) A number of men, which varies from village to village, who share the rest of the meat and fill vacancies among the higher posts. Occasionally a *minden* consists of members of one clan only, except for any outsiders who may have to be incorporated to receive the head, heart and other portions which tradition assigns to certain phratries. But usually all the clans in the village are represented in each *minden*, each clan having a very definite traditional right to nominate so many representatives. For instance, a clan might be entitled to one post among the *Tazangpur*, one among the *Tampur*, one among the *Shosanglak* and two or three among the junior *Tatar*. Should the *Tazangpur* member of the clan die, the *Tampur* member would take his place and all would move up one, a new junior *Tatar* being selected from the clan. All selection is by general consent. There is nothing in the way of formal voting. Towards the end of a generation new members are hard to find for no one wishes to hold office for a short time only. The whole body of councillors goes out of office at once, and no one can be re-elected however

influential he may be or however short a term of office he has enjoyed. Ex-councillors not only get no shares of meat¹ but have the unsavoury duty of making corpse platforms preparing bodies for disposal and carrying them out of the village. How are the mighty fallen!

Among the Mongsen we do not find the same multiplicity of *minden*, nor do all the councillors go out of office together, there being no cycle of generations. The councillors

ghostly terrors—and make huts in which the relations of such unfortunates may live during the time of their uncleanness

The system in vogue in Chungtia differs from that found in most Mongsen villages. There is one *minchen* of *T'etir* for the whole village, which goes out of office every three years, each age group thus getting its turn, as is the custom in Changki. In each successive *minchen* the hind legs used to go to the two men who had taken most heads, the neck to the two next most successful warriors, and the rest of the meat to men in proportion to their prowess. When the village was founded the Achamr clan had the right of providing a *Sungba*, but the Lungchachar clan ousted them in a quarrel and hold the right now. In Changki the *Sangba*, as he is called, is provided either by the Metam sangba or Lungchari clan, whichever happens to be represented by the oldest man in the *minchen*.

Village Presents

Any distinguished stranger from another village is given a present of pork (*akstü* C, *aoksa* M = "pig meat"). These presents are both frequent and highly valued in Ao society. There is an undefined standard by which all know who is, and who is not, entitled to such a present, and to refuse it where due would be regarded as a very serious slight indeed. The Chongli custom is as follows. A man of standing visiting another village is usually given two presents of pork, one, called *kidong aksü* from members of his clan, and one, called *Tatar aksü*, from the "khei" as a whole. The procedure involved in presenting *kidong aksü* illustrates well the Ao habit of investing every social act with meticulous ceremony. A pig is selected by six young men called *Mopu Angani*, and its owner paid on the spot by some member of the clan, who is recouped from clan subscriptions when they are collected after the next harvest. Every boy of the clan becomes a *Mopu Angani* as soon as he marries, the senior one of the little committee passing out to make room for him. To assist the six young men are six older men called *Kidong Pongchen*. These are men who have not yet become councillors. The pig having been bought, it is

killed in front of the house of the oldest man of the clan who is called *Aidong Ungr*. He gets the head, and the stranger is presented with half the pig the fore and hind leg being cut off rather short. On the meat are laid eight annas. The money he keeps, but the pork he immediately cuts up and returns, according to a strictly observed system of etiquette. The hind leg goes to the man in whose house he stayed the night, the five bottom ribs go to the *Mopu Angani* and *Aidong Pongchen* who selected the pig, and the rest is divided up and a piece given to every man of what ever clan in whose house the recipient has drunk "madhu" during his visit. The other half of the pig is divided up among members of the clan. In the case of *Tatar alsu* the principle is exactly the same. A pig is bought by the *Tamtenyemr* of the "khel" and killed in front of the house of the *Tatar Ungr*—that is to say the oldest of the *Ungrs* of the various *mindens*. He gets the head and the meat is divided up as in the case of clan *alsu*. On the guest's portion is placed one or two rupees, or perhaps a cloth or a "dao". He keeps this and gives back the meat as already described. The Mongsen custom is identical with the Chongli.

In the old days a man from another village passing through a village on his way home with a head was given a live pig called *apa!* (C and M) by the members of one of the "morungs". Over this he brandished his "dao" while he shouted of his prowess and announced that he had taken the head from the other village because of their wickedness, and that no blame lay on him. He then cut off its head with one blow. To divide it up he cut it in two at the waist, and took the front half, leaving the hind quarters for the "morung".

Village Funds

How an Ao village ever manages to assess and collect its funds has always been a source of wonder to the writer. But they manage it somehow, and with very little quarrelling. These funds are called *saru*. The system—using Chongli terms—is as follows. After harvest the *Tamten*

yemr of every *minden*, with as many other *Tatar* as like to come, meet in the *Tatar Ungr's* house and reckon up what has been spent by the "khel" as a whole during the year. There are numerous items—pigs bought for *alsu*, animals killed for sacrifice, pigs killed to provide the *Tatar* with pork at important debates, and so on. All these animals have been paid for on the spot as a rule by some councillor, who recoups himself from the funds when collected. The *Tamtenyemr* keep a tally of the cost in rice of each item with little bundles of bamboo sticks. The expenses incurred in the year are totalled at the meeting and the amount of rice required to cover them is estimated, leaving a very good margin on the safe side. To provide the rice each household is assessed at so many baskets. This is collected after harvest, when payment is easiest, and those who have paid for animals are recouped. With the balance the councillors buy meat and "madhu" and recompense themselves for their labours with a feast. If the balance is too big the village objects with an exceeding great noise. Besides the village *saru*, each clan collects a fund from its members to pay for clan *alsu*, and the "morungs" similarly collect *saru* to pay for the meat consumed at their feasts. The Chongli and Mongsen systems are identical.

On the principle, to which I am afraid they are rather prone, of if in doubt objecting to everything, the Christians have in the past objected to subscribing not only to the cost of animals killed for sacrifice, but to the cost of *alsu*. Towards heathen ceremonies they have never had to subscribe, but of *alsu* and other charges entirely unconnected with religion they have been ordered to pay their share. The custom is now that the Christians are represented at the councillors' meeting at which the assessment is made, and households of their persuasion only have to subscribe to non religious charges.

Property

Landed property of four kinds is found among the Aos—private land, clan land, "morung" land and common village land. All but a very small proportion of the land is

now private property But the Aos say that this was not always so According to them when a village was founded each clan took a portion of the land and held it as common clan land The tendency has been for this to become private property, men cultivating a particular piece would acquire a prescriptive right in it, or a clan would transfer to the aggrieved party a piece of land as a fine inflicted on one of their members—for according to Ao custom if a man cannot pay a fine himself his clan must pay it for him, or a clan would become reduced in numbers and the survivors would sell off their surplus land to individuals of other clans The result is that nowadays there is no cultivatable land which is permanently clan land Should a man die leaving no heirs his land becomes clan land, but probably only for a month or two, till the oldest man of the clan divides it up and it becomes private property again In many villages part of the site is reckoned as clan land, but dealings in such land are rare and the description is little more than theoretical, members of other clans usually occupy house sites on such land freely, without paying any rent “Morung” land is invariably land near the village on which are timber and bamboos used for repairing the building Unlike the Lhota “morungs” an Ao “morung” never owns rice fields The common village land usually consists of jungle unsuitable for cultivation or odd bits of land near the village Common rice land is rare, and where it exists it is due to special circumstances Chungtia, for instance possess a big piece of land given them by Changka for assistance in war This is still held in common When the time comes round to cultivate that block, anyone who wishes to do so clears a portion, paying as rent two loads of rice to the village *saru* fund Akhoia too have common land For very many years they could not cultivate a certain hillside because of perpetual attacks by raiders from the Changlakong range By the time the country was taken over and they could cultivate the land without fear of molestation, details of ownership had been forgotten and the land is now common Or again it occasionally happens that a whole clan dies out What has not been sold of its land is usually divided up

between members of other clans, but sometimes it becomes common land. Only one example of religious tenure has come to my notice. The two men who perform the yearly sacrifice to the sacred boulder called Changchhanglung on Waromung land have the right of cultivating a certain piece of land near the stone. Bamboos, "pan" vines, thatching palms, etc., are usually private property, though "morungs" always possess large clumps of the first. It is quite common for bamboos to belong to one man and the land on which they stand to another. For instance if A, having asked B's permission, plants bamboos on B's land, B still retains the whole of the land though A owns the bamboos. But this is so only till A's death. When that occurs the bamboos go to B or his heir, though it is the usual practice to allow A's heir to take what he wants from them for a year or two. A curious system of what may be termed "warning notices" for bamboos exists. A clump is fenced round and on the fence are hung circles of bamboo. These represent the girth of the animal the owner will demand as a fine from anyone stealing from that clump, a big circle meaning a cow and a small circle a pig. Cattle, cloths, weapons, utensils and other movable property are privately owned and a man may dispose of them as he wishes save that it is not customary to part with heirlooms such as antique "daos". Among the Chongli some clans possess an iron spear (*nusungshu*) which is clan property and is always in the possession of the oldest man of the clan in the village.

Inheritance

Inheritance is in the male line. Sons, brothers, brothers' sons and so on inherit in that order. Though a woman can possess property she cannot inherit it.¹ If a man with an only daughter and no sons were to give land and money to his daughter during his lifetime those gifts would remain valid after his death, provided the girl had made her father even a nominal payment for the land. But all property remaining undistributed at his death would go to his next male heir, whatever his known wishes might be. They

¹ A widow receives sufficient property for her support.—J. P. M.

could give the daughter a share if they liked, but need not do so. A man cannot will his property away contrary to custom. If the daughter in the case mentioned above made her father a payment for the land it becomes her private property. She can sell it or give it away if she likes, but if she does not transfer it during her life it goes on her death to her father's male heirs. But if she makes no payment she can only have the use of the land for life and may not dispose of it, and after her death it goes back to her father's heirs. All sons inherit equally. A widow receives a portion of the rice and the use of the house, and as much as she requires of her husband's land till death or remarriage or till she becomes so infirm that her sons have to support her. Very often a woman lends out and thereby increases the rice she received at her husband's death. Anything she buys with this rice becomes her absolute property. If a widow has to support a young son or daughter the land assigned for her use is increased accordingly. Land bought by a woman—perhaps with money given her by her father—goes to her son if she has one or, failing him, to her brother or other male heir of her father. It cannot go to her husband. Of her rice, on the other hand, the greater part goes to her son or to her father's heirs, but her husband is entitled to a small share. If she has a daughter and no son the daughter gets a small share and her husband's heirs the rest. Beads and crystal ear ornaments are valuable property and pass as follows, those bought by her husband are the wife's only for life and go to him or his heirs, those she has bought herself are her absolute property, and she can give them away to her daughter or anyone else she likes. Of ornaments she has bought herself any remaining with her at her death go to her father's heirs—her husband has no claim on them, of the beads and ornaments brought with her at her marriage half go to her husband or his heirs, and half to her father's heirs.

Adoption

Adoption is rare among the Aos. Wealth is pretty evenly distributed and it is not often that a man is so desperately

hard up that he will go to another man and call him father in the hope of being supported. Nor, as there are no fat marriage prices to be shared, is there any incentive for a man to go about seeking whom he may adopt, as is sometimes the practice of Sema chiefs. Nor does the adopter necessarily inherit any property the adopted may accumulate. If A adopts B and B dies without heirs A gets B's property. But if B has a son C or even an unadopted brother D, C or, failing him, D would get the whole of B's property, save a very small portion which would go to A. Should B's descendants die out, after no matter how many generations, A's descendants would inherit the property. Similarly B's descendants would inherit A's property if his line were to become extinct.¹ An adopting father receives the same shares of meat from his "son" as a real father. These consist of a portion of all sacrificial meat and the head of all game, including monkeys. In the case of game the father returns the skull after removing the meat, and often adds to it an egg and a prayer for continued luck in hunting. The son hard boils the egg, offers six little scraps to the skull,² and eats the rest.

There is another form of adoption, which is common among the Chongli, but rare among the Mongsen, who consider that it brings bad luck. A man, who wishes to make a particularly ostentatious display of wealth, can, provided he has done the mithan sacrifice three times, adopt either a "morung" or "khel" of his own village, or the whole of another village. He must give his adopted sons a live mithan and a big present of meat, usually at least three or four entire cows and pigs. He is then entitled to wear cane leggings.³ In return for this present his adopted sons must call him "father," build his house for nothing if it gets

¹ This is very nearly the Sema custom the only difference being that unadopted brothers in the position of Mr Mills D are excluded in favour of A. The Chongli custom described further on of adopting a whole 'khel' resembles the Sema and Thado customs in that it provides the adopter with a certain amount of free labour and I am inclined to regard the Chongli practice as linking up the Chongli Aos with some branch of the Luki Kachin stock a link strengthened by the use of the *nu* form for the term for father's sister as distinct from the Mongsen form in *ti*. —J H H

² Cf *The Sema Nagas* p 175 —J H H

³ See p 55 *supra* —J P M

and left and had a bodyguard of lusty slaves, who were the scourge of the place. Moreover he used to seize children of his own village and sell them as slaves. One girl, Masa yangla, who was sold by Yimsingangba to Chuchu Yimlang, is still alive, and is the mother of Alamkhaba, head man of Jakpa. Even the constant stream of pork from litigants did not compensate his village for this tyranny, and the men of the upper "khel," where he lived, one day took their courage in both hands, half wrecked his house, looted seven of his cows and said he must leave the "khel" or be killed. The lower "khel" offered him asylum and built a house for him. But he never lived to use it. On the night before he was to go the upper "khel" caught fire and was burnt out. He apparently made no attempt to escape and in the morning the charred bodies of Yimsingangba and his wife were found clasped in each other's arms.

Most disputes were (and are) settled by the payment of a cow or a pig. But for certain offences particular punishments were assigned. In the case of homicide, for instance, whether deliberate or accidental, the relatives of the dead man would have been deemed wanting in affection had they not loudly and at length demanded the life of the slayer. But public opinion would not allow the village to be again defiled with blood, the aggrieved party had to content themselves with wrecking the murderer's house, looting all his property¹ and driving him out of the village. In cases of injury the demand was in theory based on *lex talionis*, and some years ago there was a deliberate attempt made in Ungma to put out one of the eyes of a man who had blinded another man in one eye. But in practice the most serious injuries were

¹ This method of punishing homicide is, or used to be, customary among the Semas where the right to loot is claimed even for accidental homicides and against a man's father's house if he has not yet one of his own. The custom is also observed in some Angami villages, e.g., Kigwema, where one clan claimed the right to resort to it against a member of another clan, who had caused the death of one of the former in a riot in 1923 and who established the fact that the customary punishment for homicide was the wrecking of the offender's house and the plundering of his property. The same custom held in Samoa (Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, II 160) and among the Maori of New Zealand who called it *Muru* (*Old New Zealand*, by a Pakeha Maori, Ch. vii). Ellis also mentions it in Polynesia (*Polynesian Researches*, III 126) and in Madagascar (*Madagascar Revisited* p. 309), and a passage in Leyden (*Malay Annals*, p. 344), seems to link it up to the Continent of Asia.—J. H. H.

covered by a fine. For theft the value of the property stolen had to be restored and a pig paid to the elders. The payment of this pig stamped a man as a thief, and his descendants for ever could be reminded of the incident with impunity.¹ An habitual thief was trussed up like a pig and left lying outside the *Ungr's* house on a bed of nettle leaves² all night. If this did not cure him he was turned out of the village, his relations, who were sick of paying up his fines, assisting at his expulsion with joy. Incendiaries were hanged. Actual instances of the infliction of this punishment are known, though ill fate was believed to dog the footsteps of the executioner and his family ever afterwards.

Families stick together in litigation. If one side is loudly unanimous in demanding compensation, the other is usually just as ready to combine to assist the culprit to pay it—if payment cannot be avoided. In the old days if compensation was flatly refused, and no one was capable of taking it by force, a favourite plan was to call in Lungkam or some other village famed for its rough and ready methods. Lungkam would then send a mob of young men who would soon extract the fine, and everything else the culprit possessed. Ao councillors have a curious method, which strange to say, works remarkably well, of eating a fine of pork and then looking for the man who is to pay for it.³ For instance they will meet and decide that the "*kheh*" will cultivate land up to a certain point this year. At the meeting they kill and eat a pig. Anyone going over the boundary laid down pays for the pig. If no one transgresses its price is included in the village *saru*. Or perhaps bamboos are always being stolen from certain clumps. The elders will give notice that any more thefts will entail the fine of a pig. Some unknown person cuts some and a pig is promptly eaten. The result is that the whole village mobilizes itself as a detective force to catch the thief and

¹ Aos still think however that they have the right to loot the cattle of Assamese in the plains. Anyone who addresses as thief a man who has stolen a cow in the plains is liable according to Ao custom, to a fine of a pig for malicious defamation.—J I M

² Cf *The Sema Nagas* p 28. Mills *The Lhota Nagas* p 102. Stack and Lyall *The Mikirs* p 48.—J H H

³ Dalton (*Ethnography of Bengal*) records very much the same practice among the Abors.—J H H

make him pay for the pig, which otherwise will have to be subscribed for by all

Oaths

Many disputes are settled by oath. The usual procedure is for each side to deposit an agreed amount as a wager, together with the price of a pig, the fee of the elders for the part they play in the proceedings. On the appointed day the parties, accompanied by a deputation of elders to act as referees, go to the place at which village tradition ordains that oaths must be sworn. Should either party trip or suffer any similar little misfortune on the way he is non-suited at once, all return to the village and his wager is forfeited. Should all go well each side takes the oath. Sometimes it can be determined at once who has lost, but usually a reckoning is made at the end of thirty days. If either side has sickness in his household during that period, or loses any property, he is declared to have sworn falsely and the decision goes against him. If nothing happens to either side any property in dispute is divided and the case is dismissed. The actual oath can be taken in innumerable ways. A few examples will suffice. In Ungma two spirits, Ngaza and Ngati, are supposed to reveal the truth through the position of grains of rice. Ngaza lives between Ungma and Sutsu, while Ngati has his abode near the bridle path to Longsa. On the day before the oath is to be taken each of the parties, having set up an egg on end on soft ground near the village, requests the spirits to remain within call on the morrow, should one of the eggs topple over the man who set it up will, it is thought, probably lose his case. Next day in the morning each party pours a little rice into his pounder. This is husked by an old man of his clan, and from it the swearer selects three perfect grains. The man of his clan who has the reputation of being the most truthful picks them up, moistens them in his mouth, lays them in an *am* leaf, presses them till they all stick together in a row, and folds up the leaf with the grains inside. The parties then bring their leaves with them to a spot near the bridle path on the West of the village. Each calls Ngaza and Ngati to witness that he is telling the truth and hangs up his leaf

If he finds it, however, he brings it into the village, and, biting it, prays that he may die a horrible death if his case be false. He then hands it to his accuser, who bites it and swears on it in turn and takes it back to the place where it was found. Parties between whom a case has been settled in this way may never till death eat or drink anything brought from each other's houses, or cooked with fire from each other's hearths. Fishing disputes between villages are often settled by oath. Sometimes a representative of each side beheads a fowl in the way described above, thus settling the matter at once. Or a man on each side will throw a stone into the disputed water, or each will give the other to drink a "chunga" of the water mixed with chicken's blood. The usual prayers are offered in these cases, and should either champion suffer misfortune within thirty days the other side gets the fishing rights. In land disputes each eats earth from the field in question and prays that he may swell up and die if he be speaking falsely. Here too the usual thirty days' reckoning is kept. If the ownership of a bamboo clump cannot be settled by argument each disputant cuts a length of bamboo from it and, returning to the village, stands in front of his opponent's house. He bites his piece of bamboo and prays that his corpse platform be made from that clump if his claim be false. With these words he throws the bamboo into the house. The other picks it up and, with the same prayer, hangs it up in his house as a witness. Any loss or illness in the course of a month settles the case. Oaths on sacred stones seem to be very rare nowadays. There used to be a small stone at Longpha called Longphalung, shaped like a head with the neck attached, which was borrowed for oaths by villages all over the Ao country. It has now been lost, however, for many years. At Waromung oaths used very occasionally to be sworn on the huge sacred boulder called Changchamlung. It was believed that a storm would spring up as the parties returned to the village and would damage the property of one of them. A false swearer would be sure to come to a bad end. There appears only to have been one case of an oath being taken on this stone in the last twenty years, and of that I have been able to obtain a first

hand account. The parties each laid his hand on the stone and swore. A wind suddenly got up and blew down a branch which fell on to and damaged the granary of one of the swearers. The man in question later became a Christian and died in 1920 by falling from a house, a death which is cursed and "apotia" according to non Christian standards. My informant likewise was a Christian. Every village has its favourite procedure for ordinary oaths. In Longchang for example, the parties each set up an egg in a basket of rice husks in the presence of the elders on the day before the oath is to be sworn, an egg which topples over is a bad omen for the morrow. Next day the parties go with the elders to a certain spot on the path to Asangma. As usual a slip or a fall is fatal. On arrival each sticks his spear in the ground. If a spear falls, or hits a stone and will not go in its owner loses. Then each sets up an egg on end. A crooked egg loses the case, but if both get through all these tests the fortune of the next thirty days settles the issue. In Sangratsu each pulls six leaves of a certain plant and then cuts three thin bamboos from a small clump preserved exclusively for oaths. The winner is he who pulls and cuts cleanest. In Mubongchokut each splits the end of a piece of bamboo about two feet long and makes it into a little basket. These are set up under a certain tree just outside the village, and each drops an egg into his basket. Then the elders hand to each a piece of bamboo from a certain clump. The swearer grasps it in his left hand and has to cut it through clean with one blow. It is always said that the two tests invariably give the same result, the man whose egg fell crooked into the basket always failing to cut his bamboo through clean. This one can well believe. The frown of Providence at the first test would give the swearer a shaky hand at the second.

Friendships

The Ao attaches great importance to formal friendships which are of various kinds. The closest tie is that with a friend called *atombu* (C and M). The two parties must belong to different phratries and different villages. If two men A and B, agree to become *atombu* they first exchange

gifts of a "dao" and a spear. A year or so later A kills a pig. Half he distributes in his own village among men of his clan and the husbands of women he calls sister. With the other half he goes and visits B, accompanied by a large party of friends. He gives B the half pig, some handsome ornament, and a cloth for his wife, and spends the night drinking in the houses of B and his clansmen. In the morning B in turn kills a pig, and gives half to A, together with Rs 10 or Rs 15 in cash, or a live cow. Then again about a year later A revisits B and gives him half a pig and two cows. Such friendships are often hereditary, the children of *atombū* renewing the tie each generation. The children of two *atombū* may not intermarry, and a man addresses his father's *atombū* and his wife as "father" and "mother". A man could not take his *atombū*'s head in war. If it were taken and brought in by someone else he would put a little rice and "madhu" into its mouth and lay a small offering of food under it as it hung from the head tree.

Ashibu (C) or *Ihaoba* (M) is a friend of a different phratry, but of the same village. Two *ashibu* will exchange gifts and give each other large shares of meat at feasts of merit. They must always help each other in misfortune and sickness.

Atombu (C and M)—to be distinguished from *atombū*—is a friend of a different phratry, but of the same village. The tie is regarded as less close than that of *ashibu* and the gifts exchanged are smaller. The word *tomba* is generally used to cover *atombu* and any friends between whom gifts have been exchanged. Besides being bound to help each other whenever need arises, formal friends have special duties to perform on certain occasions. For instance when giving a feast of merit a man receives constant assistance from such friends. Or at a man's first marriage his friends will make his door, the trays above the fire, and the bamboo "chungas," which the newly married couple must use for six days instead of ordinary cooking pots. They will light the fire with a fire thong and have everything ready for the bride and bridegroom when they come. Again in many villages if a man brought in a head it was the duty of one of his formal friends to go and fetch the bamboo from which to hang it.

from the head-tree. A man addresses as *tinu* a friend of his own phratry to whom he is not related in any traceable way. Such friends usually exchange little gifts of tobacco and so on when they meet. A lady-love is addressed by name, but is spoken of as *yingachir* (C) or *yengao* (M). She must, of course, be of another phratry. Women friends of different phratries give each other small gifts and speak of each other as *atongla* (C and M); if of the same phratry they of course address each other as sister. If a man spared the life of an enemy in war, they and their descendants became *noklentinu* (C and M) and would entertain each other with pork occasionally.

War and Head-hunting.

At first, so the story goes, men did not know how to make war.¹ But one day a bird dropped a berry from a tree, and a lizard (*shanglung*) and a red ant (*müritsu*) fought for it. A man who was watching saw the ant kill the lizard and cut off its head. So men learnt to take heads, and till their country was taken over head-hunting flourished among the Aos. Not only did the taking of a head gain a man glory in this world and a slave in the next,² but it brought prosperity to his village in the shape of bumper crops, many children and good hunting.³ No village could ever feel sure

¹ Angami and Bemas say warfare was learnt from the ant, but do not mention head hunting as learnt from him, I think —J. H. H.

² The Dyaks hold a similar belief (*rude* Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, II, p. 141) —J. P. M.

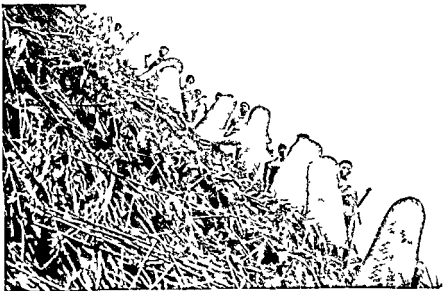
³ I believe that this idea of the victim becoming a slave in the next world is foreign to the usual Naga theory of head hunting. It is, however, a typically Kuki view. The Thados go out to get heads to put on the graves of their dead and so do other Kuki tribes (Shakespeare, *op cit.*, p. 60, Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 118), while in addition to this practice a belief identical with that of the Aos, that the slain becomes the servant of his slayer in the next world, is recorded from the Chin Hills by Carey and Tuck (*The Chin Hills Gazetteer*, I, 196) —J. H. H.

⁴ *Ide* Ling Roth, *op cit.*, p. 143 —J. P. M.

Thus is the prevailing Naga belief, and I am inclined to see in the Ao belief as a whole a fusion between an idea belonging to the more recently immigrant Kuki culture and a pre-existing culture of the genuine head hunting Naga. Head hunting appears not to be an essential part of the Kuki and Kachin cultures, and when practised by them it has not the significance that it has among the Wa and in most Naga tribes. Cf. Shakespeare, *op cit.*, p. 603, Carey and Tuck, *op cit.*, I, 177, 230, Scott and Hardiman, *op cit.*, I, 1, 430. The reference to the Wa belief in the last passage of those referred to is a little misleading and should be read with pp. 496 to 500 of the same volume —J. H. H.



CORPSE PLATFORM WITH GOURDS COMMEMORATING
HEADS TAKEN BY DECEASED



(Photograph by Dr. Hittor)

BUCKS RINGING A TIGER A SPORT REGARDED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR WAR

(To face p 200)

that it would not be raided. All defences had therefore to be kept in good repair. In the ditch and all round the outskirts of the village were stuck "panjis" (*asho C*; *acho M*), bamboo spikes about eight inches long. One of these will go right through a man's foot, laming him and often causing blood poisoning.¹ They are difficult to see anywhere, and almost invisible among dead bamboo leaves. The Chongli often used an even more dangerous type called *mobutap*. This was a piece of bamboo with a sharp knife-edge, which was buried in soft soil; a man treading on it would slit the sole of his foot. At night the log bridging the ditch was taken up and sentries posted in the lookouts at the gates. Often these sentries, whether they saw anyone or not, would call out that they had caught a glimpse of someone. If by any chance there were any raiders about this had such an effect on their nerves that they thought better of it and departed. Some villages used to make straw men and dress them up, and, putting a spear by them, set them out by the path. Other villages used upright stones against which they leant a shield.² As a Naga rarely attacks except by surprise, these dummies often proved effective. In order to find out the lie of the land and the exact position of an enemy's defences, spies were sometimes employed. On one occasion Chuchu Yimlang sent a man to Nokpoyimchen, which they intended to raid. He said he was from Lungkam, which was friendly to Nokpoyimchen, and strolled

¹ A wound from bamboo is always liable to suppurate unless very carefully looked after —J. P. M.

² Upright stakes would have done just as well and are so much less trouble to set up that I am inclined to think that these stones may once have had a deeper significance, now forgotten, and may have been themselves permanent sentries to guard against evil spirits and disease. The Dusuns of Borneo and the Tinguian of the Philippines erect upright stones as guardians round the village in this way. (*Cf Evans, Studies in Religion, Folk-Lore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, p. 30, and footnote to the same page in which he quotes *Customs of the World*, p. 657.)—J. P. M.

Where the stone is set up as a guardian it probably acts as a dwelling place for some spirit of the ancestral dead. The menhirs, or at any rate some of them, set up by the Angami are undoubtedly intended to accommodate the soul of an ancestor, and as one could hardly have better spiritual guardians than the souls of one's forbears it seems likely that guardian menhirs are so inhabited. In this connection reference may be made to my notes on the erection of monoliths in the Naga Hills in the *J.R.A.I.*, vols. LII, and LIII —J. H. H.

and that they will dislodge a section of the bamboo channel and then seize the man who goes to mend it. For this reason no one to this day ever goes alone to repair an aqueduct. Sometimes a party of raiders would retreat and draw their pursuers into an ambush. This was called *arrmistu* (C) or *arrcharr* (M). A day attack on a village was called *yimak* (C) or *ayimak* (M), and a night attack *aonungsemak* (C) or *ayakilep* (M). Such attacks are rarely successful in Naga warfare if the defenders put up any sort of a resistance. To invite a man to your village and then kill him was called *yimchilep* (C and M), and such a piece of treachery, if successful, would be shamelessly boasted of. A party going on a raid invariably invoked supernatural aid against the foe. At every sacred stone they passed an egg would be offered, and at one or more places a cock with no white feathers would be released with a prayer that the enemy might be blind and deaf and too feeble to resist. If the cock crew on its release the omens were good, but if it flew straight away the raiders returned, for to go on would be to court disaster. The eggs and cocks required for a raid could not be taken from any house where there was a pregnant woman. At a ceremony called *Metshitsu* (C) or *Metchar* (M) ("blame-laying"), in addition to releasing a cock, the party beheaded a dog with a prayer as before, and a declaration that it was the other village with whom the fault lay.¹ This was usually performed

¹ All Nagas appear to have a very firmly-rooted belief that homicide entails a nemesis for someone, but apparently this nemesis does not necessarily fall upon the head of the party which we should regard as blood guilty at all. The burden may be shifted from one side to the other by suitable imprecations addressed, it would seem, to no one in particular, e.g. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 179 sq. I suggest that the incidence of the punishment really depends upon whether the ghosts of the slain and decapitated are less ill-disposed towards their original fellow villagers or towards the villages to which their heads have been carried and where they have been mollified with offerings, as they are by all Nagas after a successful raid. If this theory be correct, it is obvious that the incidence of suffering entailed by homicide is not in any way complicated by ideas of moral guilt, but depends upon the disposition of the dead, who will revenge their premature curtailment of life on those who killed them or on those who failed to revenge their deaths adequately, according to the inclination of their malice or their caprice. One finds the same idea of a retributive punishment without any essential connotation of moral guilt attaching to the Assamese word *pop* and to the Angami *lephuma*, both of which probably originate in the idea of offence given to some spirit by an act not necessarily bad in itself by any moral standard. Both these words are used for want of any better to translate "sin"—J. H. H.

by some village which was being perpetually harassed by unprovoked attacks, in order that, with the guilt thus laid upon them the wicked should flourish no more

Any heads taken were brought back to the village and laid on the head of the drum, which was vigorously beaten. The dancing of the heads to the vibrations of the drum was supposed to be a particularly pleasing spectacle to the women who looked on from afar. The trophies were then taken to the *Tir's* house and divided up. If a man took a head single handed he got the whole of it. If there were two men in at the death the head was cut in two, the first spear (*nokstipuba*, C, *noksuba* M) getting the face half, and the second spear (*tanangpuba* C, *tunangwuba* M) the back half. If a third man (*longtang* C and M) had assisted he would get the lower jaw. In this case the upper part of the skull was divided in a different way, the right half and left half going to the first and second spears respectively. If a man not of the first three carried the head back to the village he was called *manglopungba* (C) or *manglopuba* (M), and received a piece from the back of the skull.¹ The heads having been divided, each warrior took his portion to his house, where he was greeted by his wife with a particular call. She would feed the piece of skull and say "I am feeding you. Bring your father and your mother and your sons and your daughters here."² My husband is a warrior."³ The heads were then hung by cane strings to the ends of long bamboos, which were leant against the branches of the head tree.⁴ Under the tree the *Tir* plucked a chicken alive with a declaration that the heads taken were only a just retribution for the sins of the other village, and a prayer for more heads, bumper crops and general prosperity in the future. The chicken's throat was finally cut with a bamboo knife and the omens taken from its entrails. On the sixth day after

¹ The Dyaks and Dusuns also divide skulls (Lang Roth *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* II, pp 158-159)—J P M

² Cf the Konyak and Chang methods of dividing the skull, *The Angami Nagas* p 383 and *Man* Aug 1922—J H H

³ Similarly Dyak women put betel into the mouths of enemies' heads and welcome them. The men address them in song and urge them to bring their relations (Lang Roth, *op cit*, II p 168)—J P M

⁴ Cf *The Angami Nagas*, p 239 *The Sema Nagas*, p 175 sq—J H H

⁵ Cf *The Sema Nagas*, p 176—J H H

I have heard of a similar case in the Chang country. The dead man's village was furious. They said they had no objection to his head being dealt with in the ordinary way, but regarded it as a deadly insult that his scalp should be made into a cap for a wooden image.¹

A man who wounded an enemy but did not succeed in taking his head showed his bloody weapon as a proof of his valour, and hung up a gourd on the head tree instead of a head. He called on the wounded man to come and be killed and to bring all his relations with him. It was essential that the wounded man should not sleep that night, or his soul would obey the summons and leave him in his sleep and he would die. A man who escaped with a spear through him had to keep the spear head on the tray over his fire, so that, as the spear head was kept dry, so his wound would dry up and heal quickly.

Prisoners were rarely captured. When they were they would usually be taken back and killed in cold blood by rich men who preferred this easy method of adding to their trophies. A rich man might be held to ransom, but his price would include a slave to be slaughtered in his stead. If the captors wished to make peace, a prisoner's life might be spared in order that he might be used as a go between.² He would be made to put up a stone under the head tree and swear that until that stone rotted he would make war on his captors no more.³ Then he would help to beat the drum. After his release he would become a *lampur* (C and M).⁴

¹ In some Konyak villages wooden effigies are used to accommodate the souls of the deceased which is clearly also the purpose of those erected by the Angami. In the Konyak villages referred to the deceased's skull is for a time placed on the top of the head of the effigy in order that the soul shall pass from the former to the latter. Perhaps the same idea is at work in the Ao practice described. When an Angami dies away from home a bit of his hair is brought back and attached to the head of a wooden image that is substituted for his body in the funeral ceremonies, doubtless to imbue it with something of his vital essence.—J H H

² Cf. *The Angami Nagas* p. 154.—J H H

³ The Konyaks set up witness stones in a very similar way when making peace. If either party intend to break the peace, the breach of covenant must be explained and justified to the stone first. Cf. also Hooper *Himalayan Journals* II, xxix (of the Khasis, October 1850) and Frazer, *Folk Lore in the Old Testament* II, 403 sqq.—J H H

⁴ See also p. 82.—J P M

⁵ *Ide supra*, p. 105 note.—J H H

The drums were intimately connected with head taking. A new drum could not be beaten until a head had been taken, and it was on the drum that a head was first laid.¹ Nowadays in Mongsen villages a ceremony called *tongten waluk* ("drum sprinkling") is performed when a new drum shed is built, usually every five or six years. The boys of the "morung" to which the drum belongs catch a cock in the village (anybody's may be taken and no compensation can be claimed). This one of the big boys beheads with his "dro," shouting as if he were killing an enemy, and calling on the men of other villages to come and be killed. Some of the blood is smeared on the drum and the bird is stuck up against the front post of the shed.

In order to ensure good crops villages occasionally make mock raids. The writer saw one carried out by Chungtia in August 1922. There had been a bad harvest the year before and the village wished to make sure there would not be another year of scarcity. A body of young men all armed and under the leadership of older men, went out through Aliba and Kinungr as if going to raid a Lhoti village. After going a short distance they sat down and drank, while the older men held forth at length on the excellency of old customs and the danger of abandoning them. Some spears were then taken from the younger boys and carried back by the older men when all returned. These spears represented loot from the enemy and their real owners never got them back. All came back singing as if they were carrying heads, and the drum was beaten in the traditional manner. All then had a meal and gourds were prepared and hung from bamboos against the head tree. The drum was beaten again and an old man held forth at enormous length on old customs and traditions, jabbing the butt of his spear into the ground at each point.² Shortly after this Chungtia organized

¹ So with the canoes of Melanesia the possible connection of which with the Ao drum log has been noted. A life was required for the inauguration of the canoe (Codrington *op cit* p. 297) and the head was apparently set up at the prow of the canoe (*ibid loc cit n¹*)—J. H. H.

² It is very common among Nagas to ascribe any misfortune e.g. famine or an epidemic to the neglect of ancient custom (and presumably the consequent wrath of ancestral spirits). Thus the Sema in a year of scarcity builds a miniature morung or fences his village with make believe panjus—a plan also followed by Angami villages—J. H. H.

abolition of head hunting causes a rise in mortality. Certainly the suppression of war in a Naga tribe has never been followed by an increase in population. There are two main reasons for this. The first is that no race ever increases which has lost one of its main interests in life.¹ The second is that infectious disease spreads with far greater rapidity in pacified territory. When every village is at war with its neighbour, there is very little coming and going between them. They remain segregated whether there is illness about or not. Foreigners, too, have brought into the hills venereal diseases and tuberculosis which will probably destroy more lives than were ever lost in raids. In the old days they would have left their heads behind instead of infection. All Nagas are emphatic that there is more sickness in the hills now than there was in the days before they were taken over. Far be it from me to say that war can on any account be allowed in British territory. On the other hand there is a beneficial side to head hunting which is often forgotten. It is not one of the worst horrors of the world, as it is sometimes thought to be. In Bomby more than half the children die before they are one year old. In 1921 the figures were 666 per thousand.² There are forces against which no popular outcry is raised far more destructive of human life than head hunting.

Slavery

Until the country was taken over the Aos owned large numbers of slaves. When orders were issued stopping slavery there was a wild rush to sell, Chuchu Yimlang for instance, disposing of most of theirs to independent neigh-

¹ Cf. Rivers *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia* p. 101 and Kingdon Ward *In Farthest Burma* p. 235. Mr T. J. MacMahon writes in *The Blue Peter* (July and Aug. 1922): "While on every other island of the group the natives have decreased in numbers the island of offers the finest example of the secret of vigorous and increasing life. Malaita is the land of the 'head hunters' a most active, aggressive and energetic people. They repulse every effort of the man to overcome them and carry on unceasing strife among themselves. The Malaita people are living examples of the fact that only an energetic existence can keep native folk healthy and progressive." — J. H.
² In Vienna in 1921 during the "Save the children" campaign figure was only 146 per thousand. — J. P. M.

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hours across the Dikhu Of the slaves who were freed many elected to stay with their masters rather than go home, which shows that their treatment was on the whole good. Not only were slaves bought from neighbouring tribes in the old days, but numbers of Aos were sold into slavery. Thus was a common fate for a man who could not pay his debts and whose relations could not, or would not, pay them for him. He and, if he were married, his wife, became the absolute property of his master. But a married couple could not be torn apart and sold separately against their will. A slave lost all his clan rights and became in a vague sort of way a member of his master's clan. Really he seems to have had no clan at all. All slaves lived in their master's houses. They could not marry and set up house on their own, but male and female slaves were left to mate as they liked, the children of such unions being in turn slaves. The owner was on no account allowed to have immoral relations with his own female slaves, the idea, apparently, being not so much that they had been in a way adopted into his clan as that such behaviour on the part of a free man would be derogatory. On the whole slaves were kindly treated, but it not infrequently happened that one would be paid over as part of the indemnity due to a victorious village and killed in cold blood. Did a slave by any means manage to accumulate a little property, it went to his master on his death. The paternity of slave children would often be doubtful, and even where it was certain they had no rights. A specially meritorious deed would sometimes win a man his freedom. It was the custom for a rich man to be surrounded by a body guard of slaves when in contact with the enemy. If one of these killed and took the head of a man who threatened to break through to his master, he would be set free and allowed to build a house, and would become the adopted son of his former master.

The Position of Women

An Ao woman is very far from being a slave and a drudge. Her position is no whit inferior to that of a man. She always has her clan behind her, and were a bad tempered

husband to bully his wife he would soon have a swarm of angry in laws buzzing round his ears, and his wife would promptly leave him. All her life a woman enjoys considerable freedom. When a girl reaches the age of puberty she can no longer sleep in her parents' house, for it would be "shame" for her to do so. Instead she sleeps in a girls' sleeping house (*chik* C and M). Such a house is usually occupied by three or four girls, all of the same clan, and an old woman.¹ There a girl is visited at night by boys from the "morung." It is inaccurate to describe the *chik* system as an example of unbridled pre nuptial licence. A girl is ordinarily pretty free with her favours and probably has a series of lovers, but she does not admit men indiscriminately, and is of course never approached by those of her own clan.² She will as a rule only have one lover at a time and that will be someone for whom she feels a real though often ephemeral, affection. They will give each other little presents, and if the girl becomes pregnant they marry. Prostitution is not an Ao custom, such as there is is entirely due to the presence of foreigners in the country. Marriages arranged in the *chik* are said to be the happiest of all. But even they rarely last long. What marriage price there is is very small. This is good in that it prevents parents from selling their daughters against their will, but it also tends to make divorce easy, for the husband has paid little for his wife and loses little if he parts with her. Divorce is amazingly common. In fact it is very rarely that one meets an Ao man or woman of any age who has only been married once. Couples part on the least provocation. The usual pretext is incompatibility of temperament, which may mean anything, it commonly means that one or other of the couple has seen someone he or she likes better. Divorced persons soon remarry, and after one or two experiments most people find a mate for life. If infidelity is the

¹ Cf *The Angami Nagas* p 49. Hodson *Naga Tribes of Manipur* p 6. Stack and Lyall *The Miskis* p 19. Roy, *The Mundas and Their Country* p 385 (*giti ora*). Jenks *The Bontoc Igorot* p 66 (*oldag*). Sawyer *The Inhabitants of the Philippines* p 257 sq. Baudesson *Indo China and its Primitive People* p 55.—J H H.

² Except in Lungkam where liaisons between persons of the same clan are frequent though admittedly contrary to ancient custom.—J H H.

cause of the divorce it is almost always the husband who is to blame. The wife may cast glances elsewhere, but she usually stops at that. The morals of the men, on the other hand, are atrocious. They visit the girls' sleeping houses and carry on intrigues with women who are temporarily without husbands, and generally take every advantage of the amazing complacency of their wives.

In and about the house the duties are divided. The husband does the heavy work, while his wife cooks and makes the clothes. She probably has a little rice and money of her own, and this she increases by trade quite independently of her husband. Both work in the fields. On a journey if there is one load of food and clothes the wife carries it while the husband walks in front,¹ but if there is a lot to carry he is quite ready to do his share. At feasts of merit, which are perhaps the greatest of all occasions in a man's life, his wife plays a prominent and honourable part. On days of lesser festivity she acts as hostess and talks freely with the guests. In litigation she is well to the fore. On asking a man in Court what his complaint is I have often known his wife step forward, tell him to keep his mouth shut, and announce that she will state their case. Hen pecked husbands are not unknown in the Ao country.

The American Baptist Mission is carrying on a certain amount of education among the girls. This does not meet with the approval of conservative Aos, who regard it as useless, and leading to idleness and immorality. There is something in what they say.² The circumstances under which the matter came to my notice were as follows: some girls returned to a certain village after spending some time at the Impur Mission School. They refused to demean themselves by working in the fields like their uneducated

¹ This is one of the old customs which Christian men show few signs of giving up.—J P M

² Ao Christians have themselves complained to me that girls who have had a Mission education find it hard to settle down to village life and are liable to go on the loose. I do not mean to imply that no girl educated by the Mission keeps straight far from it. But the consensus of opinion among respectable Aos undoubtedly is that there is grave risk of a Mission trained girl getting 'above herself' and so idle and immoral. And after all the Ao is likely to know more of his womenfolk than any outsider.—J P M

sisters, and preferred to sit in the village during the day doing nothing. In the village there also remained, as is the Ao custom, a few young men whose duty it was to give the alarm in the case of an outbreak of fire and carry on any urgent message coming through from village to village. If idle girls and idle young men spend long days together in a deserted village trouble may be anticipated. It was when a baby or two arrived that I heard some forcible opinions on female education.¹

¹ Cf Sawyer, *op cit*, p 258, also p 206 where he quotes Dean C Worcester as saying of the Philippines 'On the whole, after making somewhat extensive observations among the Philippine natives, I am inclined to formulate the law that their morals improve as the square of the distance from churches and other civilising influences.' Read 'Naga' for 'Philippine' and I concur though I should make it clear that I include the metalled cart road and my own court house among the 'civilising influences' albeit I do my best to mitigate the effect of the last named. Sawyer again (p 208) says 'Of late years the establishment of forts with Tagal or Visayas garrisons in the Igorrote territory, and closer contact with Christians generally, have tended to demoralise the heathen so the experience of the Naga tribes is not unique'—J H H

PART IV

RELIGION

THE religion of the Ao is not a moral code. It is a system of ceremonies, and, strive as he may to do that which is lawful and right in the moral sphere, he will not prosper if he omit the sacrifices due to the deities around him who, unappeased, are ever ready to blight his crops and bring illness upon him and his. This does not mean that he is a devil ridden, terrified wretch, unable to distinguish right from wrong. Far from it. Deeply implanted in him is that mysterious sense which the Greeks called *αἰδώς*, against which he often sins, it is true, but not unconsciously. Moreover the presence around him of potentially malignant spirits no more weighs upon his mind than does the prospect of the wrath to come drive to moody despondency the average Christian. He cheerfully performs the necessary sacrifices, and hopes for the best. When the inevitable day comes at last on which offerings for sickness are no longer of any avail he meets his end with resignation and, unafraid, goes to join his forefathers.

Deities and Spirits

What are these spirits whose goodwill the Ao so untiringly seeks? At big sacrifices prayers begin with an invocation to the moon and sun, the spirits (*tsungrem* C and M) of the village and fields, and the fate or double (*tiya*¹ C and M) of

¹ It may be mere coincidence that the Aos use *tiya* for a double, and that in Polynesia *tu* is used for the wooden or stone figure put up for the soul to dwell in, but in view of the fact that several Naga tribes use similar wooden figures or mere stones for a similar purpose, the coincidence is worth noting, particularly as we find words like the Angami *dahu* and *tehuba* apparently reproduced in the Polynesian *ahu* and *tahua*, while *penna* (Angami) and *pini* (Sema) link up through the Malay *buni*, the Tahitian *puni*, Maori *punipuni* and Tongan *tapuni*, with the word *tabu* (vide Evans 'Kempunan, *Man*, May, 1920) —J H H

the sacrificer. Of these the *tsungrem* are by far the most important. Though the sun and moon are addressed first, no ceremony is ever performed in their especial honour. What need to placate them? For though they seem to watch all, they play no part in the affairs of men and no one thinks of them as deities. The *tiya*, too, is in no sense a deity and its nature is best discussed in connection with the Ao theory of the soul. It is the *tsungrem* who play an important part in human life. On their goodwill largely depend a man's health and happiness. They are everywhere—in the village, in the fields, in the jungle, by streams in trees, and, most favourite haunt of all in the huge boulders which are so numerous in the Ao country. They are regarded as resembling in some way the people of the locality in which they live. For instance, should a sick man be told by the "medicine man" whom he consults that it is a *tsungrem* of the Phom country which is holding his soul to ransom he will offer a little thread of the kind which the Phoms buy keenly from the Aos. Or should the patient have been attacked by an Assamese *tsungrem* while trading in the plains he will make his offering into two little bundles and attach them to a miniature Assamese carrying pole for an Assamese *tsungrem* would naturally never use a Naga carrying band.¹

Sacred Stones

The worshipping of sacred boulders² is regarded as characteristic of the Ao by other tribes, who are rather inclined to laugh at them for it. Certainly there is hardly a conspicuous boulder which escapes attention. The most famous is the Changchlanglung, a huge boulder on the very top of the Changkikong range between Waromung and Dibwa. Changchlanglung used to be at war with Kibulung the big boulder in the Lhota country between Lakhuti and Akuk.³ One day Kibulung came and killed one of Chang

¹ This attitude rather suggests that the *tsungrem* were originally the spirits of the dead (cf. Frazer *Belief in Immortality* I 115 130 290 II 31 sqq. 327 and *passim*)—J. H. H.

² Cf. *The Angami Nagas* p. 800 and p. 7 note *supra*—J. H. H.

³ Called by them Deolung vide *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 117—J. P. M.

changlung's men and took his head. Changchanglung was in his fields at the time, but he hurried home when he heard the alarm. With such speed did he chase Kibulung that he caught him up at Longpha, and forced him to drop the head. Kibulung succeeded in getting away, but the head, which immediately turned into stone, was taken charge of by Longphalung another stone, who reverently laid a flat stone over it as a man would lay a cloth over a corpse. In the old days the *tsungrem* of Changchanglung had a bad reputation as a poltergeist. Boys sleeping in the "morung" at the end of Waromung nearest to it would be knocked off their sleeping benches it is said, by invisible hands, or even carried bodily outside the village. Animals tied up for sacrifice, too, would often be loosed. The spirit of the stone was not wholly malignant, however. At times it would appear in a dream to the man who performed the annual sacrifice, and give useful information about the future. But it is not to be trifled with. No one spits or jabs his spear into the ground when passing the stone and if disturbed it is likely to bring on a bad storm.¹ A yearly sacrifice of a dog is offered by Waromung. The ceremony must be performed by a man of the Kabzar clan, with a man of the Mulir clan as his assistant. In return they have the right of cultivating a certain piece of land. But though the annual sacrifice is continued, the glory of the stone has departed. No longer does its *tsungrem* foretell the future, and no longer are oaths sworn on it. The tree which grew out of the top of it was cut down by converts of the American Baptist Mission and the stone defiled. To illustrate the attitude of the Mission towards sacred stones one may quote Mrs. Clark, the wife of the first Missionary to work among the Aos, who writes with exultation of another stone. "All sorts of desecrations are now practised on that once hallowed stone by boys who have outgrown their fathers' theology."² She omits to specify the nature of the desecrations. Presumably they were similar to those practised on the Chang-

¹ The rousing of a storm by the disturling of a stone is a very common Nagas idea. vide note p. 129 *supra*. — J. H. H.

² *cf.* p. 59. A letter in *Ind.* by Mary Neal Clark. American Baptist Publication Society. Philadelphia, 1907. — J. I. M.

changlung There the converts showed their Christian zeal by climbing on to the boulder and using the top of it as a latrine The ringleader, who actually cut down the tree and was the first to show his opinion of his father's religious tenets in the way described above, was one Cheptakyungba of Yachang For the next six months he was insane and took up his abode under the corpse platforms in his village These details were given me by an Ao Christian

The Longphalung, which sided with the Changchanglung in his quarrel with the Kibulung, has been lost for the last thirty years It was a small stone in the middle of Longpha village and was often borrowed and taken away to the other villages for oaths Sometimes it would turn into two stones, which were regarded as husband and wife, while at other times it would disappear altogether

The number of boulders in the Ao country of merely local fame is legion There is the Mangchilung ("Corpse eating stone") near Merangkong Its name arose as follows Yimakong, a now extinct village near Merangkong, was at war with the Konyak village of Tangsa The latter came raiding across the Dikhu, took two heads, and bolted Yimakong turned out to look for the bodies, which they expected to find near the Mangchilung They found, however, that the corpses had disappeared, while the boulder was red with blood Thus they knew it must have eaten them Offerings are made to the stone to bring fine weather Another stone to which Merangkong sacrifice is the Azuti balung on the bank of the Melak An offering of a small pig and two cocks ensures safe fishing and good crops for the year Outside Khensa is the Phukulalung, to which sacrifice is offered every year Long, long ago a woman who was carrying a load of pots fell down at that spot Her broken pots, turned into stone, are still to be seen Mong senyimti is a great place for *tsungrem* haunted boulders In the middle of the village is the Kharalung ("tortoise stone"), so called from its shape, to which a pig and a cock are sacrificed year by year On the long slope to the north of the village is the Hahapilung A Latim man long ago killed a great warrior called Haha and took his head, taking

care to cut it off with a good long neck. He sat down to rest, finding the head heavy, and cut off the neck to lighten it. The neck turned into stone in the way things had in the Ao country, and a pig and a cock are sacrificed there when ever that area is "jhumed". But the most important is the Shitilung ("elephant stone"), just below the village on the Chuchu Yimlang side. One day a man walking there jabbed his toe. In the usual Naga way he began to dig out the block of stumbling. But the more he dug the deeper he found it went, till he had uncovered a huge boulder, which he could not move. At the time Mongsenyimti happened to be doing none too well in a war with Mubongchokut. A "medicine man" gave it as his opinion that a sacrifice ought to be offered to the newly uncovered boulder. His advice was immediately followed with excellent results. Mubongchokut challenged Mongsenyimti to a pitched battle. The latter were led by a woman invisible to them but visible to their enemies, who fled, leaving twelve heads behind. The ghostly woman disappeared, but no one has ever doubted that she was the *tsungrem* of the Shitilung come to assist her worshippers. A pig and a cock are still offered at the stone every year. Another stone of note is the Sichikhunglung near Longmisa. It is the head of a Longpu man turned into stone. Ordinarily none of it shows above ground, but once every year it is uncovered and a pig offered to it. If this ceremony be omitted, the village is likely to be burnt down in the course of the year. On the other hand, if the uncovering be done with too much vigour and the stone roughly handled the heavens will open and there will be a perfect deluge that very day.

The "Tsongremmung" Ceremony

A yearly ceremony is performed in every Ao village in honour of all *tsungrem* in general. It takes place in July or August. Longsa perform it first, followed first by Ungma and then by Mokongtsu, from whence it spreads along the ranges. The Chongh procedure is as follows. On the first day a pig is sacrificed outside the *Tatar Ungr's* house, and a piece of the meat is given to the houses at each end

of the main village street This is a present for Lichaba, the chief of the *tsungrem* Distributed in this way he is bound to find it ready for him from whichever direction he enters the village The rest of the pig is eaten by the elders On the evening of this day every family makes a small offering at the hearth, and for that night the man and his wife must refrain from intercourse The next day is very strict *amung* indeed, no one may leave the village and even rice may not be husked, men and boys spin tops, and women and girls play games with sword bean seeds In the evening the bucks visit the girls' dormitories and the houses of young widows and *divorcees* The women are bound to supply their visitors with drinks If they refuse the men may carry off the doors and all the firewood there is in the house The next day is spent in the same way, but the *amung* is less strict and people may leave the village to gather jungle leaves and so on On the third day's *amung* all go and bathe There is no visiting of girls' houses that night, for *tsungrem* are abroad and all go to bed early and avoid walking about In Ungma and Mokongtsu and a few other villages a tug of war takes place, as at the *Moatsu* festival, on the first and second *amung* days The Mongsen call the ceremony *Asamnimung* ("three days' *amung*") Their rites are practically identical with those of the Chongh

Lichaba

Mention has been made above of Lichaba¹ He is regarded as the greatest of the *tsungrem*, and to him the creation of the world is attributed He worked quietly and steadily at first, and had time to make the plains smooth and neat But just as he began work on the area where the Naga Hills are now a water beetle called out "Enemies are upon you" So he had to work in a desperate hurry and only had time to make a jumble of hills Nowadays he occasionally appears in dreams to men of the Sangpur group of the Ao tribe at Longsa but never to any other Ao When he does appear it is to ask for a present of pork Longsa

¹ Some villages call him Lungtisangba —J P M

then kill a pig and distribute four pieces of meat to the end houses of the main street, as is done at the *Tsungremmung* Ungma and Mokongtsu do likewise and then other villages in any order they like. Apart from this occasional tribute a yearly *amung* called *Lachabamung* (C and M) is held in his honour in all villages about June. This prevents landships, for since Lichaba made the world, it is he who can keep it firmly held together. A pig is sacrificed outside the village fence and eaten by the village councillors, and the day very strictly observed. No one may even husk rice or fetch firewood from the stacks outside the village. The men and boys spin tops, as at the *Tsungremmung*. People all retire to their houses early, and late in the evening each householder throws an old pot out of his door, asking Lichaba to accept it, poor though the gift is, as it is all he has left in his house. At night Lichaba comes with a basket and collects these meagre offerings. Sexual intercourse is forbidden that night. Should anyone transgress, the wind will wreck his house or flatten his crops. Next day every man offers an egg in front of his field house.

In some villages every year, in others only if it be suspected that someone broke the *Lachabamung*, a supplementary ceremony in honour of Lichaba called *Lichaba ayi* is performed about ten days after the main ceremony. The chief part is played by the village Pongen priest (*Puti Ungr*), who must be in good health. If he is seriously ill and there seems to be no chance of his recovering in reasonable time, his place is taken by his assistant (*Tonglu*), who in turn appoints an assistant for the occasion. The priest, assuming that he is well enough to officiate, makes new fire with a fire thong some time before the appointed day and prepares "madhu." Should anyone in the village die between the making of the new fire and the offering of the sacrifice all the "madhu" rice has to be thrown away and a fresh start made after the death "genna" is over. On the appointed day the priest and his assistant go outside the village fence carrying a pig subscribed for by the village, a cock which must belong to the priest, new fire made by him, some of the specially prepared "madhu," and chulhes, rice, etc. The

priest kills the pig and cock and offers to Lachaba sixty *am* leaf plates of meat and rice and sixty *am* leaf cups of "madhu" These are left on the ground a short distance outside the village fence, and the priest and his assistant return This offering prevents wind and land slips, and ensures good crops The day is *amung*, which is especially strict while the priest and his assistant are engaged at the place of sacrifice For that time no one may do any work whatever

Lesser Spirits

Among the minor spirits the most important is the house spirit (*kitsung* C and M) This is to be distinguished from the spirit of the house site (*kimung tsungrem*) A house site, no matter who occupies it, is always haunted by the same *kimung tsungrem*, but the *kitsung* is a being attached to a man, which will always occupy his house, even if he moves to another village An Ao interpreter's *kitsung*, for instance, ordinarily lives with him in his quarters in Mokokchung, but accompanies him when he goes to his home in his village for a spell of leave Again, the only time an offering is made to a *kimung tsungrem* is when a house is being built, but at least every three years, or oftener if necessary, a sacrifice (*Kitsung lulam* C, *Kitsung ya* M) is offered to the *kitsung* Among the Chongh a pig, which has been specially selected and kept for three years, is killed in the house at the foot of the centre post of the back wall The head, liver and heart are eaten by the householder and his wife, and the right half of the body laid at the foot of the post Later in the day this, together with the left half of the body, is divided up between the members of the household and near relations The Mongsen custom is very similar The pig is killed and half the body formally offered at the foot of the post in the same way, but children are rigidly excluded during this part of the ceremony In addition, three baskets of rice, meat and so on are left in the space between the ceiling and the roof for three days If at the end of that time the contents are found to have been nibbled by rats all is well, the *kitsung* has accepted the offering A *kitsung* can bring both good and evil fortune An incorrigible

kitsung, whom no sacrifices will appease, is sold and so got rid of. For this purpose an old man is called to the house and given a carrying basket full of rubbish—old rags, broken pots and so on. This he carries down the village street, calling out “A *kitsung* for sale, buy, buy.” Finally he hangs the basket on the outside of the village fence near the gate at the end of the main street and says “Such and such a village has bought the *kitsung*” naming the village towards which that path leads. If a man does not succeed in getting rid of the troublesome *kitsung* in this way he simply has to put up with it.¹

Above the first sky, that is to say the sky which we see, live beings called *anung tsungrem* C and M (“sky *tsungrem*”). With these men have little or no concern and to them no offerings are made. It is they who break up into hail huge blocks of ice thrown down by sky folk (*lotakr*) in the sky above them.² *Anung tsungrem*, together with the inhabitants of the sky above them, are classed as *lotakr*. They do not come down to earth in Ao land, but are supposed to appear to members of the Sangtam and other transfrontier tribes in dreams and foretell the future. When word comes that any transfrontier village has been honoured with a visit of this sort each Ao village in turn keeps one day’s *amung* as it hears the news. There is also a jungle ghost called *aonglamla* (C and M), a dwarf creature with long hair reaching to the ground, which goes about chuckling. Happily it is very rare for to see one is fatal. One Puroshushang of Waromung saw one near the Tsuram stream about eight years ago. He told my informant when he got home, and died five days later. His widow and children have been poor ever since.

The Nature of the Soul

The Ao belief regarding the soul is a curious one. It may be stated briefly as follows. Every human being has a fate (*tiya* or *tiyaba* C and M) which lives in the sky. This is in

¹ Cf. *The Sema Nagas* p. 231 n. Mills *The Lhota Nagas* p. 130—J. H. H.

² Cf. p. 304 *infra* and *The Lhota Nagas* p. 173. *The Sema Nagas* Index I s. *Kungums*, *The Angami Nagas* pp. 181, 200, 209 *sqq.*—J. H. H.

no sense a soul. Apart from his *tiya* a man has three souls¹ (*tanela* C and M), and his *tiya* too has three souls. Thus a complete group consists of a man and his three *tanela*, and his *tiya* and its three *tanela*, the souls of the man and the *tiya* respectively being separate and not interchangeable². All the *tiya* of the men on earth live above the second sky and are often spoken of as *lotakr* ("sky-folk"). The *tiya* of a man is male and that of a woman female. Every *tiya* has a name, but only a "medicine-man" can find out what it is. Some people hold that a man may have more than one *tiya*. The most curious tie between a man and his *tiya* is that one of the man's three souls is a celestial mithan belonging to the *tiya* in the sky, and similarly one of the *tiya*'s three souls is an earthly mithan.³ Hence the death of a celestial mithan involves the death of a man by the destruction of one of his souls, and the death of an earthly mithan similarly involves the death of a *tiya*. The death of the *tiya* does not seem to matter to its earthly owner, who is apparently endowed somehow with another. A man's *tiya* is regarded as his fate,⁴ good or bad as the case may be, and one of the commonest reasons given for divorce is that the *tiya* of the man and that of the woman do not agree. Of a man's souls, other than that which is a celestial mithan, one always remains in his house, staying behind when he goes out, and one accompanies him wherever he goes. The souls and the *tiya* seem to be regarded as in some sort of way pre-existent in the sky, becoming incarnate in an infant

¹ So also the Jews, according to Purchas (*His Pilgrimage*, II 17, m) — J. H. H.

² This is the form in which the belief is generally held. I have, however, heard it stated by a Mongsen man that a man has three *tiya* external to him and a *tanela* inside him. The truth is that very few Aos ever think the matter out. A man when asked invariably scratches his head and thinks for a bit. There is nothing obtainable in the way of a cut and dried statement of dogma — J. P. M.

³ Cf. Bompas, *Folk lore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 391, CLVI. in which men appear as animals to the spirits, who, when they hunt a peacock, for instance, are really stalking a man — J. H. H.

⁴ Cf. *The Angami Nagas*, p. 183. The Angami equivalent of *tiya* is *ropri*, a word which would not appear at first sight to have any philological connection with *tiya*, but *ropri* probably = female spirit — *terho-pu*, and *terho*, the ordinary Angami word for a spirit (generally known in its collective form *terhoma*) is much more suggestive of *tiya* in a country where more than one whole tribe cannot pronounce R — J. H. H.

believe that the vibration of the membrane over an infant's fontanel is caused by the *tanela* inside. Others disagree, and say that the hair on the top of a baby's head is patchy because the *tuya* comes and licks it at night, and that the *tanela* resides anywhere in a man's body, being visible in his eyes as a little man¹. It is this soul which sometimes leaves a man and goes on ahead to the World of the Dead. Either this soul or the one which stays in a man's house—no one is quite sure which—reappears after a man's death in the form of a hawk² and is seen soaring over the village.

Life after Death

There is no word for that part of the man which passes after death into the next world. The man is regarded as going himself. For instance, an Ao would say "Asamchiba has gone to the Land of the Dead", he would not say "Asamchiba's soul has gone to the Land of the Dead". One of his souls may have caused his death by going on there ahead, but Asamchiba himself followed later. Certainly one of the souls reappears as a hawk, or, according to some, as a butterfly or cricket,³ after Asamchiba has departed and one is believed to linger near the body for some time

tants, it takes the form of head hunting because the soul resides particularly in the head and it is easier to carry back the head than the whole corpse (cf. *The Angami Nagas* p. 167 sq.) —J H H

¹ Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 209, Whiffen, *The North West Amants* p. 225, Frazer, *Belief in Immortality* I 412 (Fiji) *Golden Bough*, III 29 (Nias, Fiji, Ancient Greece) 30 (Punjab) —J H H.

² Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 208 sq. —J H H

³ Cf. *The Sema Nagas* p. 211, *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 184-247, *The Lolo Nagas*, pp. xxxiii-121, Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur* p. 158 sq. Furness, 'Ethnography of the Nagas', *J R A I* XXXII 463. Gordon, *The Khasis*, p. 105 sq., *Mayfair*, *The Garos*, p. 105, Shakespeare, *The Iwals*, *Kuki Clans*, p. 65, Frazer, *Golden Bough*, III 51 (Shan States) VII 190 (the Taungtha, Burma, in this case the soul of the rice appears as a butterfly), R. Gordon Smith, *Ancient Tales and Folk Lore of Japan*, p. 285 sq. Skeat and Magdon op cit, II 216 n. (the Bahar). Frazer, op cit 311. 296 (Solomon Islands) *Belief in Immortality* II 206 (Samoa) 232 241 (Hervey Islands) 318 (Society Islands) Also *Golden Bough* III 41 (Serbia), id 29 n. (Ancient Greece), IX 159 n. (Westphalia in this case apparently the souls of witches). Hall, *Ireland its Scenery, Character etc.* I 394. Gomme, *Ethnology in Folk Lore*, pp. 158, 159-160 (England and Ireland). One possible reason for the theory of the soul appearing as a bee or wasp (Nagas use the same generic term for both) occurred to me when I saw a wooden figure of the dead, made to accommodate the soul in Nerhema in August 1923, which had been adopted as an abode by boring hornets, which buzzed angrily out at my approach —J H H

The soul, according to Ao ideas, is not an ethereal personality, cumbered on earth with a body from which it is only freed at death. Rather the Ao souls are very troublesome appendages of the real *ego*. These appendages require a great deal of looking after, for though the temporary absence of one, perhaps captured by a *tsungrem*, only causes illness, its permanent loss involves its owner's death.

As the Ao knows he must go to the Land of the Dead some time, whether he likes it or not, he does not worry his head much as to where it is. Consequently opinions differ as to its locality. Some regard it as in the sky.¹ Others say that it is under Wokha Hill, and that some at death approach it via the plains and others by Lungkam, each taking the path his ancestors took before him, though no one can say why any family originally took its particular route. The Aos place the entrance to the World of the Dead which lies under the earth at the same spot on Wokha Hill as do the Lhotas, and call the line of white rock leading up to it *layasūphu* ("girls cloths-drying"), regarding it as a collection of dead men's cloths laid out to dry by their

¹ For the varying Naga theories as to the location of the abode of the dead, vide *The Lhota Nagas*, p xxxiii sq. The Ao theories seem to combine two different doctrines, one putting the abode of the dead in the sky and the other underground, as well as adding the theory of transmigration into insects. I suspect Moyotsung of the Ao version of being the same person as Metamo of the Angami (*The Angami Nagas*, pp 182, 184 sqq). This story of the Path of the Dead guarded by a demon who bullies passing souls is found throughout the Naga tribes (*The Angami Nagas*, pp 185 sq., 326, *The Sema Nagas*, pp 212, 244, Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, pp 118 sqq., 157 sqq., Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p 160). The Thados have it, and the Lusheis (Shakespeare, *op cit*, pp 62 sq., 201, 221, and cf Lewin, *Wild Races of South Eastern India*, p 244). So also the Garos (Playfair, *op cit*, p 103). Outside Assam the Tayals of Formosa have it (McGovern, *op cit*, p 147), the Kayans, Kenyahs, and Klemantans of Borneo (Hose and McDougall, *op cit*, II, 41 sqq.) while among the Dusun (Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p 124 sqq.) and among the Andamanese (Man, *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, p 94, quoted by Skeat and Blagden) a variant of the same myth appears to be found, as also among the Sakai, Semang Jakun, Benua and Besisi of the Malay Peninsula (Skeat and Blagden, *op cit*, II 91, 187, 194, 240, 299). Something very like the Ao story reappears in the Maori legend (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, II 27 sq.), with similar versions elsewhere in Polynesia (*ibid*, II 241 sq., 244, 317). In New Guinea and Melanesia fairly close parallels to one or other of the Naga beliefs are found (*ibid*, I. 193 sq., 260, 345, 353), the path of souls appearing in New Caledonia, Florida and Ysabel (*ibid*, II 326, 350, 462), while in Fiji, where the occurrence of the dug out drum log, for instance, has already been noticed, we find the closest parallel of all (*ibid*, II 462 sqq.) —J. H. H.

crossed the Lungritsu he first comes to Moyotsung's house, outside which there is a tree¹ At this he must throw his spear, calling out his own name as he does so If he has lived an honest life he will hit the tree, but if he has been a thief he will miss Moreover in the latter case his load will give him trouble For everything he has ever stolen will be in it, and, try as he will to pick them at the bottom, these proofs of his guilt keep working up to the top of his load, where no one can fail to see them² Meanwhile Moyotsung watches and judges Honest men he calls into his house and sends straight through it into the village of the dead Thieves have to go by a side path, though all seem to reach the same goal³ A rich man leads along the road to the next world the mithan he has sacrificed in this Their actual heads are still in his heir's house on earth, but wooden models were placed in front of his corpse platform and it is the ghostly animals enshrined in these models that he takes with him With the trophies of war the case is different Heads were not left to heirs but were put in front of the corpse platform Models are only used now because the sacrilegious hand of the British Government has destroyed the originals On the road the warrior meets the men he has slain They have been earth bound till now, poor wretches, for they could not go to the world of the dead without their heads,⁴ which were in their conqueror's keeping The latter now gives one of them his load to carry The victim protests and says it is not his business to carry a load For this he gets a good thrashing with a cane specially placed in front of a warrior's corpse platform for this purpose Grumbling, the victim picks up the load and on they go till they reach Moyotsung's house Here the quarrel breaks out afresh and Moyotsung is called in to arbitrate The warrior triumphantly points to the rice flour on his victim's

¹ This tree is a pandanus in the Fijian version and a whale's tooth is thrown at it instead of a spear (Frazer, *loc cit*, cf *The Angami Nagas* p 326) — J H H

² Cf the Tangkhuls (Hodson *Naga Tribes of Manipur* p 160) — J H H

³ Cf Hodson *loc cit* — J H H

⁴ Cf Chivas Barron *Couttes et Légendes de l'Annam* p 143 n¹ — Les âmes des hommes décapités et erchent en vain le repos éternel — J H H
If a Chang is beheaded in a raid and his friends recover the body they fit it out with a head made from a gourd — J P M

forehead, placed there when ceremonies were done with the head,¹ and the vanquished foe is non suited at once

A woman has a more adventurous journey At a certain point on the road she meets a fiend with long hair called Aonglamla² The fiend will chase her and demand a present Now a sword bean seed was carefully placed with the other things in the carrying basket hung up on her corpse platform This is where it comes in useful She takes it out of the load and rolls it along the ground The fiend scampers after it thinking it is something valuable, and the woman slips by³ Arrived in front of Moyotsung's house she must prove her honesty by throwing her weaving sword at the tree If it hits she has passed the test and goes through Moyotsung's house to join her dead forebears If she misses she is proved to have lived a life of dishonesty and disgraced, must go round by a side path

Moyotsung, *alias* Mozung, appears to be identical with Anungtsungba,⁴ and so with Lungkizingba All the dead are his servants, and when he is about to rebuild his house many men on earth die, in order that he may be supplied with workmen⁵ The mithan he sacrifices are the souls of men, and every animal slaughtered means a death on earth It may seem strange at first sight that an Ao, who lives under a talkative and accommodating village council in this world, should believe that he becomes the subject of an autocrat in the next But, as a Conservative politician once pointed out, in no religion are the arrangements of Heaven democratic Dr Clark records⁶ a belief that Moyotsung was once a man on earth who was worsted by a rival of the Lungkungr clan He further states that when a wealthy man of the Lungkungr clan dies his relations will frequently blacken his face, lest Moyotsung should recognize

¹ See p. 205 *supra* —J P M

² For the belief in this fiend as a jungle ghost on earth cf p. 223 *supra* —J P M

³ Cf *The Sema Nagas* p. 244 —J H H

⁴ Anungtsungba (Lord of the Heavens) would be King of the Land of the Dead in the sky —J I M

⁵ In Iulotu the future land of the Polynesians the souls of the dead form the materials as well as the builders (Krazer *op cit* II 90 Cf also 204 217 317) In the Celebes there seems to be a belief in a sort of reverse process (Krazer quoted by Perry, *Children of the Sun* p. 14) —J H H

⁶ See p. 471, *op cit* —J P M

him and take vengeance on him. In spite of careful enquiries I have failed to find any trace of this tradition and custom in existence now.

Life in the village of the dead is like life on earth, save that there is no sexual intercourse. Those who were rich here are rich there, and those who were poor here are poor there¹. After living out his allotted span there, a man dies again and passes to an unpleasant, shadowy abode which goes by the curious name of "Dogs finishing village" (*azūstūken* C, *ayūtipoyim* M). Anyone who treated his dog badly in this world finds the position reversed, he is himself kept as a dog with a dog as his master, and receives in full measure, pressed down and running over, all the cruelty, starvation and neglect which he meted out to his canine friend on earth. Many never reach this hell. Anyone who jabs his foot against a stone on the way to it from the first land of the dead is turned for ever into stone, and anyone who jabs his foot against a stick is turned into a piece of wood. Even those who reach it do not remain there long. After a short time they just fade away and disappear.

Dangers that Beset the Soul

Rarely does an Ao regard illness as due to physical causes. So used is he to blaming on *tsungrem* all the evils that happen to him that, should he in any case not do so, he thinks it necessary to explain to the *tsungrem* that in this particular instance he does not hold them responsible—for they naturally expect him to blame them and, unless reassured, are likely to be angry at the unjust charge they think he is sure to make against them. If, therefore, a man, obviously through his own carelessness, cuts himself with a "dao" while in his fields, he gets an old man to perform the *Aphachang* (C and M) ceremony as soon as he gets home. The old man goes outside the village fence and offers a little

¹ Cf. *The Sena Nagas* p. 212. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians* p. 195. Frazer *op cit* I 195-260 (New Guinea) 405 (N. Melanesia) II 30 (Maori) 239 (Hervy Islands) but in none of these cases is it said that there is no sexual intercourse but the modern spiritualist who appears to agree with the Ao and the Pacific Islander as to the similarity of the next world to this does agree with the Aos as to the absence of sexuality *vide* Lawrence *Spiritualism among Civilised and Savage Races* pp. 8-10-93.—J. H. H.

in this way Its owner at once falls ill, and if his soul is not restored to him he will die A "medicine man" is called in without delay Having taken the omens by gazing into a leaf cup of "madhu," or in whatever way he favours, he announces that the sick man's soul has been caught by a *tsungrem* at such and such a spot Further omen taking is necessary to find out how much the *tsungrem* will accept for the soul This decided, after much hard and skilful bargaining with the *tsungrem* (at least that is how the "medicine man" describes the proceedings, which are inaudible to the onlookers), yet again the omens have to be taken to decide from whose hand the gift is likely to be acceptable The sick man can never make the offering himself Sometimes the "medicine man" announces that a very simple ceremony is all that is required, at any rate to start with One of the household, previously selected by omen, ties up some fermented rice in a leaf and waves it clockwise over the patient, six times for a man and five times for a woman,¹ counting aloud as he does so Then the patient with his finger puts a little of his spittle on the leaf parcel, which is carefully kept and watched If the fermented rice remains sweet and good the patient will recover, but if it goes bad and smells he will get worse Should this happen the "medicine man" is called in again, and goes a second time through the whole performance of diagnosing the case, bargaining with the *tsungrem* and selecting someone to offer the sacrifice The man upon whom the choice falls announces the evening before what he is going to do He must remain chaste that night, or the *tsungrem* will take his soul in exchange for the patient's next day In the morning he goes to the house where the sick man is lying A "chunga" of "madhu" is offered to him Holding the "chunga" in his hand he addresses the *tsungrem* as follows "So and so (naming the patient)

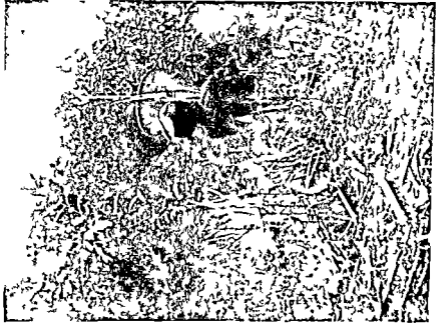
¹ Six for a man and five for a woman is a favourite numerical rating with Nagas The Kalyo Kengyu dead when broken up for the separating of their bones have to have all the bones carefully sought for and counted five bone pickers being the minimum number for a woman's corpse and six for that of a man Cf also Mills *The Lhota Nagas* pp 134 135 and *The Senia Nagas*, pp 218 233 By the Somas after a successful raid six scraps of meat are laid out for the slayer and five for the slain (*ibid.*, p 176)—J H H

has been caught by you I am going to take you such and such an offering. If you let me take him back we shall both be well spoken of." With these words he pours some of the "madhu" on the ground and drinks the rest. He is then handed a fowl—a cock if a sow is to be sacrificed, and a hen if a castrated pig is the victim—which he waves over the patient, repeating the above prayer again. This fowl he takes outside the house and begins to pluck alive, announcing as he does so the object of the sacrifice. After he has finished speaking he pulls out six more bunches of feathers (or five if the patient is a woman) and cuts the bird's throat. The omens as to the success or failure of the ceremony are taken from the entrails. The pig is then killed and its liver and that of the fowl chopped into little pieces and thrown on the ground with an invitation to the *tsungrem* to come and eat. All then eat the rest of the pig and the fowl, save the patient, who may not partake of the latter. In cases of more serious illness a ceremony called *Sentungr* (C) or *Rakichar* (M) is performed at the actual spot, according to the "medicine man," where the *tsungrem* caught the patient's soul. The object is to get the sick man's soul out of the clutches of the *tsungrem* and lead it back to its owner. The diagnosis and bargaining being over, and the sacrificer, who must be an old man, selected, on the morning of the sacrifice he first offers two eggs (Chongli custom) or two small chickens (Mongsen custom), one at each end of the main village street, and returns to the sick man's house. The patient is made to sit up, and the fowl and egg which are to be taken away and offered are waved over him—six times for a man and five times for a woman—by the old man, who counts aloud. The patient's face is washed with a little water by the old man, who concludes the ceremony in the house with the words "So and so (naming the 'medicine man') says this offering must be made. Accept it and let the man's soul go quickly." Then the old man, accompanied by at least one member of the household, goes to the place where the patient's soul is being held to ransom. The cock is killed in the usual way and its liver and the egg left for the *tsungrem*, with a prayer that the patient's soul may be



AN OFFERING FOR RAIN AT THE DRUM'S HEAD LUNGKAM

1906 10 00



A SENTUNG PFERIN

released. A fire is lighted and the rest of the fowl eaten by the old man and those with him. In addition to the egg and liver the *tsungrem* is given "madhu," rice, chillies, a piece of ceremonially pure dried meat,¹ a broken pot, and, very likely, thread, cotton wool, wooden *chabili* and so on—in fact whatever was bargained for originally. The sacrifice and meal over, the old man says aloud: "He has gone on ahead," and all go back to the house. Just before they re-enter all shout: "He has returned."²

The only occasion on which a scapegoat chicken, which is such a familiar feature of Sema and Lhota soul-calling ceremonies, is released appears to be at a Chongli ceremony called *Tanecha* (soul-calling), which is usually performed only for infants, and very rarely for grown-ups. If an infant is sickly and ailing, enquiries are made, and it can generally be discovered that the pregnant mother had stumbled or jabbed her foot against a stone at some spot. There, announces the "medicine-man," a *tsungrem* seized the unborn child's soul³ and there a sacrifice must be offered. A castrated pig and a hen are required for a boy, and a sow and a cock for a girl, and in addition a little scapegoat chicken for a child of either sex. The sacrificer is accompanied by two or three members of the household. As he approaches the spot he picks up a stone and throws it in front of him, saying to the *tsungrem*: "I have brought a pig and a fowl to-day and have come for the soul of so-and-so. You go before I reach the spot." The party then shout that the *tsungrem* has gone. The sacrificer first makes a tiny fence of six sticks (or five, if the patient be a girl). At the right-hand end of the fence he lays six little leaf-plates of meat, rice and ginger, and at the left end five plates. With each collection of plates he places a leaf-cup of "madhu," and says: "O *tsungrem*, let the male eat the six portions to the right, and the female

¹ Every Ao keeps in his house for occasions like this a small store of dried meat from an animal, usually a pig, killed when the household was particularly prosperous and entirely free from defilement—J. P. M.

² Cf. Milne (*Home of an Eastern Clan*, p. 287) on the Palaung method of recalling the soul—J. H. H.

³ This, it will be noted, is entirely inconsistent with the theory (see p. 224 *supra*) that a child receives its soul at birth. Little discrepancies of this sort do not worry a Naga in the least.—J. P. M.

his journey. He takes the offering in a basket to his house and in the morning announces what dreams he has had. Another method is as follows. A suitable "medicine-man," with a reputation for this line of business, is engaged beforehand. The patient, or one of his household acting for him, procures a cock with a fine long tail and no white spots, a new pot and a large piece of pork, say about five pounds. "Madhu" is prepared with rice cooked on a fire lighted with a fire thong or with quartz and iron. If the "madhu" is good and not sour it is a favourable omen. On the day of the offering, he cuts three new bamboo "chungas," collects *am* leaves and makes a bamboo basket for the cock. In preparation for the arrival of the "medicine man" he puts the cock into the basket and fills two of the new "chungas" with "madhu" and one with boiled rice. The "medicine man" arrives and, on the principle that the labourer is worthy of his hire, begins operations with a hearty meal of rice and pork, washed down with "madhu." The articles for the offering are then set apart. The rice in the "chunga" is made up into a leaf parcel, the new pot is filled with raw pork and covered over with *am* leaves, in a cloth are wrapped about three pounds of rice, three pieces of dried fish and some ginger, and with the other things are put three *chabili* and a "dao." In addition, the patient supplies for the *tuya* a full set of male clothes and ornaments in one basket, and for the *tuya's* wife a full set of female clothes and ornaments in another basket.¹ These preparations complete, the "medicine man" addresses the patient's *tuya* and says "Look what I am bringing for you. Wait for me at the gate of your village." The "medicine man" then scatters three handfuls of raw rice and a piece of ginger to his right, and the same to his left. This is for his own *tuya*. Then he puts the offering into a big carrying basket, naming each article aloud as he does so. Omens are then taken to see if the visit to the *tuya* will be successful, and finally the "medicine man" tops the load with a bundle of six *am* leaves and takes it home with him to his house. Both the patient's

¹ Cf. the proceedings in the Angami Lusu ceremony described in the J.R.A.I. Vol. LII (p. 63)—J. H. H.

and the "medicine man's" dreams are important that night. At dawn next day the "medicine man" examines the things in the load. If the boiled rice is sour it means that the *tuya* has accepted and eaten it. If there are specks of dirt in the bundle of six *am* leaves it is a bad omen. He then goes to the patient and announces the result of his visit to the *tuya*, and returns all the offering except one cloth, the cock, the pot and the eatables, which are his perquisites. Both the patient and the "medicine man" are "genna". They must eat in their own houses for six days and may not leave the village land for twelve days.

A man who has a stomach ache often blames the *kitsung* of some friend whom he has visited frequently of late. He goes to the friend's house and tells him of his trouble. The friend then holds a "chungu" of "madhu" in his left hand and waves a brand over it, saying "May my *kitsung* not torment this man." The afflicted one drinks the "madhu" and is cured. Or he may go to the friend's house, eat a little rice and place three little heaps of rice on the three stones of the hearth. Or again he may get his friend to stroke his stomach and tell his *kitsung* not to afflict him. Often it is impossible to say whose *kitsung* is to blame. In that case the patient's wife or one of the household puts a sword bean seed into the fire. When it bursts with a pop she says "The *kitsung* has gone" and picks it up and drops it into a leaf cup of water she is holding in her hand. She waves this over the patient and rubs his stomach. He spits and she says "Whatever *kitsung* you may be, go now." She then throws away the leaf cup of water containing the seed outside the house. A simpler method than this is to take six pieces of charcoal or six little leaf parcels of rice (five, if the patient be a woman) spit on them, wave them over the patient, order the *kitsung* to go, and throw them away. If a man's own *kitsung* troubles him it is considered enough to promise it better offerings in future. After all if it prove incorrigible it can always be sold.¹

¹ Vide p. 223 *supra* — J. P. M.

The dead are believed sometimes to draw away the souls of the living and so cause them to waste away¹ A dead parent, it is held, will try to attract to himself the living child for whom he longs² It is a bad sign if the dead appear often in dreams, for it means that their souls are visiting the earth A "medicine man" who diagnoses a case of illness as due to the influence of the dead recommends that a present be sent through another "medicine man" who is known to have the power of reaching the dead³ This ceremony is known as "going to the dead" (*Mang yenyol* C, *Mangyenua* M) The "medicine man" is given a present of food and the dead man's ornaments to take away for the night In the morning he returns the ornaments, having kept the food as his perquisite, and reports on his visit to the next world Usually he says that he met the dead man and persuaded him with the aid of the present to release the patient's soul Sometimes he frankly admits that he has failed It is not always love that causes a dead man to draw a soul away from earth Sometimes a man's illness may be due to the capture of his soul by a dead enemy As he is almost always unable to obtain the loan of the dead man's ornaments for the rite, he sends an extra large present of food as a ransom If this does not have the desired effect the patient dies

The Ao, like all Nagas with whom I am acquainted believes that if a man be laughed at, or talked about much, whether for good or for ill, he will suffer⁴ He will lose his appetite, his head will ache and his hair will lose its gloss If the "medicine man" can give no indication as to what village is responsible, the patient makes a sacrifice with a general intention He plucks a fine cock alive and says "May the speech of people be carried away by water and wind, and alight on stones and trees" The bird is killed by having its throat cut and the omens are taken as usual

¹ Cf *The Sema Nagas* p 198 So in British New Guinea ghosts make people ill by stealing their souls (Frazer *op cit* I 197) —J H H

² So in the New Hebrides the soul of the mother in Malanga draws away that of her surviving child (Codrington *op cit* p 209) —J H H

³ Cf Codrington *loc cit* —J H H

⁴ Cf *The Aigarn Nagas* pp 53 252 *The Sema Nagas* p 242 sq —J H H

The patient cooks and eats the meat in the outer room, and the pot is either thrown away (Chongli custom) or at any rate carefully washed (Mongsen custom). The sacrificer is "genna" for seven days among the Chongli and six days among the Mongsen. If the "medicine man" can specify the village in which the patient has been talked about the latter, besides sacrificing a cock, washes in the nearest pond he can find to the offending village. If the actual "morung" responsible is known, the patient goes to the house of the "morung" *Ungr*, that is to say, the titular head of the "morung" councillors, and obtains a "chunga" of water, which he takes home. A wash with this water cures him. Or he can demand a cock, which has to be given, this he takes home and plucks alive as he walks down his own village street, praying that the speech of men may be taken away from him. He cuts its throat in front of his own house and takes the omens as usual. After this he is "genna" for six days.

It is not only spirits and human beings that can afflict a man's soul. Wild animals are supposed to emit a curious evil influence, which the Chongli call *shira*, and the Mongsen *sara*. Perhaps a man may complain of a head ache and pains in his joints after bringing home a tiger's kill he has found or after killing some animal himself. A "medicine man," on being consulted, says that the man's soul is being attacked by the soul of the animal. An old man of the sick man's clan sacrifices a fowl,¹ or, in very serious cases, a black dog outside the village, and hangs up at the place where the sacrifice was performed a rough basket and rag representation of the wild animal responsible. Sometimes a friend standing by when game is killed will be attacked instead of the killer. But in the case of animals shot there is no danger for anyone, for the report of the gun

¹ So in New Guinea sacrifices are sometimes offered to the souls of animals (Frazer *op cit* I 239). Possibly the idea underlying it is that the animals are inhabited by ghosts as in the Solomon Islands (Codrington *op cit* p. 179) where offerings are made for certain sharks and men have personal bonds with sharks as Aos with leopards. It may be also noted that the Angami sometimes seem to regard wild animals as gifted with superhuman attributes (*vide The Angami Nagas*, p. 240) — J. H. H.

frightens away the animal's soul before it can do any harm.¹

Witchcraft.

Though the influences of the spirit world so frequently injure his soul, and through his soul his body, it is very rarely that an Ao attempts to direct these powers against an enemy. True, as a rule, he takes care not to leave the trimmings of his hair and the parings of his nails about, but I have never heard of anyone trying to work magic with such leavings. People like, however, to retain some hold over anything which has been in very intimate contact with them. The owner usually keeps a thread from a cloth and a shaving from the handle of a "dao" which he sells. Similarly a few eyelashes of an animal disposed of are kept.² Bewitching through models is very rare now, but was apparently commoner once. The old custom was to make a wooden image of an enemy in another village and spear it and cut off its head. The only recent case of a similar nature that I have heard of occurred some seven or eight years ago in Chuchu Yimlang. There is a never-ending feud between Chuchu Yimlang and Mongsenyimti, and at the time the undying spark had been fanned into a

¹ This idea of the report of a gun frightening away the spirit of the dead, or any spirits (e.g. of tigers) which may be waiting to waylay the passing soul, is found among most Nagas (*The Angami Nagas*, p. 227), and a number of neighbouring tribes. The Assamese state that spirits fear gun fire, and let off guns to frighten away the spirits of the forest (Benudhar Rajkhowar, *Assamese Demonology*, p. 20); the Chakma of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, like the Angami, let off guns at funerals (Lewin, *op cit.*, p. 186), and the Siyins of the Chin Hills (Carey and Tuck, *op cit.*, p. 193), like the Maoris (*Old New Zealand, by a Pakeha Maori*, p. 224), and the Kafirs of Kafiristan (*J R A I*, XXVII 77). The Lepchas do the same, though, according to Hooker, who records it (*Himalayan Journals*, I v. 129), it is "to announce to the gods the departure of the spirit," and thus too the Dusun are reported (Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 126) to fire a gun before ascending Kimbalu, the hill of the dead, to warn the ghosts of the approach of mortals. In other cases, however, the firing of guns is clearly to frighten off the spirits, and so guns are fired to drive off ghosts by the Shans (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, IX 116), and in West Africa (Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, p. 176), while Frazer (*loc cit.*) gives a large number of cases, mostly in Asia, in which they are fired to drive away spirits causing sickness, and (*ibid.*, and XI 74) several in Europe where the same means is used to scare witches.—J. H. H.

² Vide p. 105 *supra*.—J. P. M

lame by a dispute between them as to the fishing rights in the Mang stream. Chuchu Yimlang made six wooden images of Kilamsangba, Nangmirenba and Yungkungmar, the protagonists on the Mongsenyimti side, and their respective wives. These were put in one of the "morungs" and addressed by name and laughed at and spat at by the young bucks, and fervent hopes were expressed that they would die, it being intended to behead the images eventually, I believe. But before any results could be observed they were confiscated by Government and their makers suitably dealt with.¹

An old way of injuring a village with whom you were at war was somehow to place in it (usually through the agency of a benevolent neutral) an egg on which you had blown, with an appropriate prayer that the enemy be struck blind and deaf and become feeble. The Konyaks have a similar custom. In January 1923 Kamahu complained to me that a Tangsa man had placed such an egg in their village, and pointed out that this indicated a coming attack either from Tangsa or their friends Yungya. Within a month the latter village had taken a Kamahu head and only through bad staff work had failed to take a great many more.

Sometimes black magic is used for the public benefit to punish an unknown offender. For instance, if granaries are maliciously fired by someone unknown the village priest will drop some of the burnt grain into each of the village springs, with a prayer that the incendiary may die if he drinks of that water. Or a man whose mithan has been killed by someone unknown will put a little scrap of the meat into each spring with a similar prayer, having previously announced to the councillors his intention of doing so.

¹ This was when I was at Mokocheung. They told me that the intention was to decapitate the figures ultimately, and one is reminded of the beheading in 1643 of the effigy of Lord Traquair, who had been guilty of high treason, when the culprit himself could not be caught (*vide A Relation of the King's Entertainment into Scotland, on Saturday the 14th of August, 1641*—"If any man be accused of High Treason, and flyeth from it, and after be convicted, it is a law among them that his effigies shall be cut in wood, and brought upon the scaffold . . . and there they cut off its wooden head")—J. H. H.

See illustration facing p. 248—J. P. M.

Religious Officials.

The Ao knows nothing of any priestly caste, or priesthood upon which special powers have been conferred by consecration. For the simple ceremonies of the home and field a man acts as his own priest. For ceremonies such as the mithan sacrifice, where the clan as a whole is concerned, one of the clan priests (*Putir*¹ C; *Patir* M) is called in. These are old men who have been councillors, and their qualifications are age, experience and freedom from serious deformity. Often they are spoken of as *Nokr*, a wide term, sometimes used for the priests, sometimes for the old men who have not been selected for the priesthood, and sometimes for these old men and the priests together. Each clan in a village may have from one to four or more priests, the numbers varying from village to village. All the clan priests combined make up the board of village priests,² who are likewise called *Putir* or *Patir*. Just as in each *minden* of Chongli Tatar there is a *Tatar Ungr*,³ so among the *Putir* there is a *Puti Ungr* of the Pongen phratry. The corresponding official among the Mongsen is called *Pati Sungha*. Public opinion dictates who among the old men are fitted to be priests. Attached to each priest is another old man who acts as his assistant (*Putibang* C; *Patibang* M). For ceremonies at rather distant stones the assistant, who is usually the less ancient and infirm of the two, frequently acts instead of the priest. On the death of a priest his assistant takes his place, and a new assistant is chosen. A simple ceremony is performed by a new priest to celebrate his entry into office. He kills a cock in front of his house and announces that he is following the customs of his ancestors. Then he distributes little presents of meat among the other priests and the village councillors, and receives their congratulations and good wishes in exchange. For most village ceremonies the priests take it in turn

¹ This word, like the Lhota equivalent *puti*, is perhaps connected with the Siamese word *pouti*, vide La Loubère, *Royaume de Siam*, II. 1 — J. H. H.

² In a village consisting of a Chongli "khel" and a Mongsen "khel," each "khel" will have a separate board of priests — J. P. M.

³ See p. 183 *supra*. — J. P. M.

to act, but at the bigger festivals they are all expected to be present

"Medicine men"

"Medicine men," though I have used the word throughout as a convenient term is really a misnomer for these persons, for women as well as men follow this profession.¹ This is one of the points which distinguishes them from the priests, with whom they are in no wise to be confused. Their duties are different and their powers are different. A "medicine man" will say what sacrifice is necessary in a certain case, but a priest, or a private person acting temporarily as a priest offers it (unless, of course, the offering has to be conveyed to the other world² when another "medicine man" is called in). Roughly speaking the priests and private individuals acting as priests carry on the normal religious life of the community, the "medicine man" being called in only to deal with the abnormal. Were sickness and sorrow to cease, the "medicine man" would find himself out of work. A "medicine man" in Chongli is called *arasentsür*, and in Mongsen *rachenlar*. Both these terms mean "extractor of dirt," and refer to their pretended power of sucking out of men's bodies bits of stone or wood or lumps of hair, or whatever may be causing pain. Patients are fairly frequently treated in this way, but the practice does not seem to be nearly as common as it is among the Semas and Lhotas. The part of the body where the "dirt" is supposed to be has first to be rubbed with wild mint and is then massaged and sucked. The powers which an Ao "medicine man" mostly advertises are those of taking omens by certain methods (e.g. gazing into liquid, pulling *am* leaves to pieces or breaking and smelling ginger³) travelling to the next world either in a trance or in a dream or even talking with *tsungrem* in a waking state. In the latter performance, needles to say only the "medicine man's" half of the conversation is audible to those present. The usual method of bringing out

¹ too too the Semas rule. *The Semas Nagas* p. 11. ² See p. 236 *supra* — J 1 M. ³ See p. 234 *infra* — J 1 M.

the trance state is to gaze into a leaf-cup of "madhu." The "medicine-man" falls back unconscious and his muscles become more or less rigid. After a time he is brought to by his friends; a kind of wild mint (*tsinginangpera* C; *nangpera* M) is put on his ears, his nose and the top of his head, and his arms and legs are rubbed with it; some of the powdered leaf is blown up his nose. On recovering consciousness he describes his journey to the other world. If he speaks of having seen the patient's mithan he means the patient's soul, for it is the mithan-soul which lives in the sky-world.¹ Some "medicine-men" boast that they have special friends among the *tiya*, whose houses they always make a point of visiting, and of whom they speak quite familiarly by Ao names. Naturally it is the *tiya* language that they talk to these friends, a tongue which is said to resemble Phom or Konyak, rather than Ao. While many "medicine-men," I think, do go into some sort of trance, there are undoubtedly a number of frauds. For instance, an Ungma man visited a patient in Kabza and went into a trance for the purpose of interviewing his *tiya*. Unfortunately he selected a corner of the house which was swarming with fleas. Flesh and blood could not stand it and he simply had to scratch in the middle of his trance. The séance then came to an abrupt, and, for the fraudulent "medicine-man," unprofitable end. Another performance which is pure fraud from beginning to end is the smelling out of thieves, a practice severely discouraged by Government. The "medicine-man" gazes into a leaf of "madhu" while the man from whom the goods were stolen mentions one after another the people whom he suspects. When the name of the man whom the "medicine-man" has previously noted in his own mind as the most likely is reached he declares that the spirits have told him that that is the guilty man. Needless to say, the spirits are quite often right, but they are also quite often wrong. The next thing is to find out where the swag has been hidden. Here, too, the same method is pursued of suggesting likely places to the "medicine-man." He usually assents at the mention of

¹ See p. 224 *supra*.—J. P. M.

something pretty vague, such as "in the jungle" or "below the village" I have never heard of anything actually being found by this method. Some years ago there lived a famous "medicine man" in Yongyimsen. He prospered exceedingly till one day he was called in professionally by Akhoia, always a pretty wideawake village. Akhoia was always being burnt accidentally, and the inhabitants wanted to know why. The Yongyimsen "medicine man" had no hesitation in saying that the root of the trouble was an evil stone somewhere in the village, a short distance below the surface of the ground. This he undertook to find and remove in the morning in consideration of a large present of beef and pork. That night a man who happened to be sitting out on his house platform in the shadow saw the "medicine man" steal out of the house where he was staying and begin to dig industriously at the side of the village street. The watcher's curiosity was aroused and waiting till the "medicine man" had gone back to bed he went and dug in the same place. He quickly found a smooth black stone, which he duly handed over to the elders in the morning with an explanation of how he had obtained it. Nothing was said. At the appointed hour the "medicine man" gathered the village round him and after much searching and questioning of spirits, indicated the scene of his previous night's operations as the spot where the evil stone lay. He then began to dig. He dug and dug and the confident look began to fade from his face to be succeeded by one of puzzled dismay. When they had enjoyed the fun long enough, the elders produced the stone and asked him if by any chance that was what he was looking for. Then they told him what they thought of him in no measured tones. A fine of cattle was demanded which he could not pay, so his relations sold his son as a slave and bought the necessary animals out of the proceeds. The son was freed when the British took over the country and for obvious reasons not wishing to live in Yongyimsen, took up his abode in Chungtia. There he follows closely—rather too closely, I think—in his father's footsteps. He visits sick people and dreams about them. For some

reason he has an enormous reputation, especially among women, and people will pay him up to Rs 40 for a visit—far more than I have ever heard of being given to any other “medicine man” (The usual professional fee is more like a couple of rupees worth of eatables) Of course a fair proportion of his clients recover in the ordinary course of nature Every such case is put down to his skill, and deaths are either ignored or explained away. He is a very fly bird One of my interpreters was persuaded by his wife to call him in He came but said his dream told him nothing, and refused a fee It is safer, on the whole, not to try tricks with intelligent interpreters who are in the habit of talking things over with the Sahib and asking his opinion

The first sign that a person is endowed with the powers of a “medicine man” is a tendency for him or her to talk incoherently and converse with spirits, especially at the new or full moon Such a person acquires a familiar animal just as a *Lhota ratsen* does ¹ He knows, it is said, the whereabouts of his familiar, and if his familiar be wounded injuries appear on corresponding parts of the man's or woman's body If the familiar be killed, the “medicine man” must acquire a new one or he will die too Even the acquisition of a new one will not save him indefinitely, for a man can only survive the death of six, and a woman the death of five familiars The first familiar acquired is a leopard cat ² This will grow into a leopard or tiger as the man's powers grow, provided the familiar can pass the necessary, ordeal This is severe On Piyongkong, a striking peak in the Phom country, lives the King of the Tigers, a monster of its kind At intervals all familiars are summoned to do obeisance to him None may come empty handed. All bring according to their powers, leopard-cats presenting fowls, and the stronger leopards and tigers pigs and cattle They dance round the King, who sits in the middle with his huge mouth open, into which each

¹ Vide *The Lhota Nagas* p 164—J P M

² A great warrior though not a ‘medicine man,’ may have a leopard cat or small leopard as a familiar—J P M

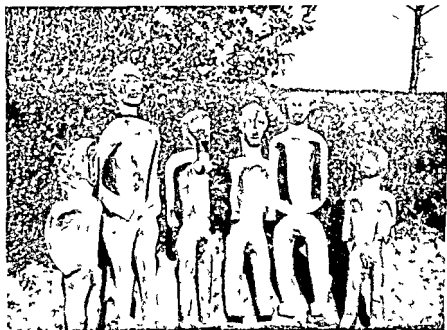
familiar throws his offering. If these do not appease the King's hunger, which is great, he finishes off the meal by devouring one or two of the dancers. The dance over the ordeal begins. There is a deep chasm, it is said, in the mountain. Across this a single bamboo is placed, held at the ends by two leopards, which keep twisting and turning it. Any leopard cat which wishes to become a full blown leopard or tiger must cross this bridge and drink at a certain spring.

The most famous "medicine man" in the Ao country is Tsoknungtemshi of Ungr. It is said that several times persons who have laughed at him and expressed disbelief in his powers have been told that they would meet his leopard at a certain spot and have done so. The animal is even said to wander round his house and come to him for scraps of meat. In 1914 Akhoia ringed and killed his leopard. Tsoknungtemshi developed ulcers corresponding to the wounds on his familiar's body and sores appeared in his mouth corresponding to the places where a stick had been fixed to keep the dead leopard's jaws open. He saved his life by procuring another leopard and drinking an infusion of scrapings from the "daos" and spears with which his animal had been killed. In 1917 a sick man went to consult Tsoknungtemshi and slept in his house. He woke up to find Tsoknungtemshi talking in a strange tongue to his leopard, which was sitting by him licking his arm. In 1921 Akhoia trapped a leopardess, and Tsoknungtemshi appeared with a badly swollen eye. He explained that his leopard had been just behind the female when it entered the trap, and that as the trap closed the spring had caught him a blow in the eye. Pangrimin of Ungma is another leopard man of note.¹ Though a Christian he does not doubt for a moment the existence of his familiar, and is reported often to have directed to the carcasses the owners of animals killed by it. It is his invariable practice to hurry off at once whenever he hears that a leopard has been killed near, in order to see whether it is his that has come to an untimely end. He will know it at once, he

¹ *I* *side The Sema Nagas*, p. 203 n.—J. H. H.



TSOKNUNTEMSHI OF UNIB A FAMOUS MEDICINE MAN



(11 dupri) / Dr. Hut n

WOODEN FIGURES MADE BY CHUCHU YIMLANC TO BLWITCH CERTAIN PERSONS
OF NONSEN YIMTI

says, because he has lost most of his teeth and his leopard will therefore have lost most of its too. Another leopard-man who has nearly come to a bad end more than once is Mayangnungba of Longmisa. On one occasion the leopard of Molungba, a Sangtam of Thungarr, killed a pig on Longmisa land, and invited Mayangnungba's leopard to come and share in the feast. But the latter was afraid to do so, luckily for himself. For Samanambá sat up over the kill and shot the leopard of Molungba, who died within six days. On another occasion Longmisa ringed three leopards, those of Mayangnungba, Puthiri of Longmisa and a Sangtam. Mayangnungba and Puthiri's leopards escaped with difficulty and the bruises which appeared on their owners' bodies showed the hard struggle they had had; the Sangtam's leopard was killed and he died as a result. It is believed that when a "medicine-man" dies his leopard dies too. There was an old woman of Waromung whose leopard was said to come into her house. It is reported that when she died the leopard was found lying dead a few yards from the platform at the back of her house. A final, and particularly good, example I will quote from a paper read

Murromi, a transfrontier village in unexplored country where all the population are said to be were tigers. It was reported that he claimed in private to be identical with the tiger that first escaped, but he would not admit this to me, and there was indeed another and more likely candidate to this rather doubtful honour. This was an Ao named Imtong lippa of Chāngkī. While this beat was going on three miles away, he was behaving like a lunatic in the house of one of the hospital servants at Mokokchung. During his possession he identified himself with one of the tigers being hunted and stated that one of them was wounded and speared, that he himself was hit with a stick (the Ao method of beating entailed the throwing of sticks and stones and abuse incessantly to make the tiger come out). He laid a rolled mat to represent a fence and six times leapt across it. He ate ginger and drank a whole bamboo 'chunga' (about a bucketful) of water, after which he said that he had escaped with two other tigers after crossing a stream, and was hiding in a hole, but that one tigress, a trans frontier woman, had been speared in the side (in point of fact she had been speared in the neck) and had been left behind and would die. (We shot the tigress in the end.) He said there were four tigers surrounded. Chekiye said six. Four actually were seen, however, two grown and two half or three quarters grown. There may have been others, but it is not very likely. Some sixteen cattle had been killed in two days. This account I took down after returning from the beat, on the same day, from an eye-witness of Imtong lippa's exhibition, which was seen and watched by a large number of men, both reliable and otherwise in their accounts of it."

Another curious and strongly held belief about tigers and leopards is that an animal will select some particular person and pursue him relentlessly. If a man finds a leopard's or tiger's tracks covering his own in the jungle he knows that the animal is measuring his footprint with its paw to see if it is big enough to tackle him. He believes, too, that it will lick up his spittle and eat the remains of any food he may leave about after a meal in the jungle. A man who is

dogged in this way from time to time cuts through a sapling with one stroke of his "dao" as he goes along, selecting the largest he can possibly manage, for the animal notes these saplings and may give up the pursuit if he judges the man's strength to be dangerously great. The following story will illustrate the belief, and the proper procedure for a man so troubled. Some years ago Yimpukyimba of Waromung, while on his way home from Nokpoyimchen, was attacked by a leopard soon after leaving the latter village. The animal was driven off, but hung round the party till they got home. At night Yimpukyimba's relations kept watch and saw the leopard enter the village and steal towards his house. Again it was driven off. It was clear by this time that the leopard was relentlessly set on getting its victim. The three travellers therefore threw away, as belonging to the leopard, all they were wearing on the day they met it. Then they consulted a "medicine-man" and six days later went into the jungle and sacrificed a dog, with a prayer that the leopard would accept it instead of them. The carcase they left on a little bamboo platform, and withdrew a short distance to watch. The leopard accepted the offering, for it was seen to come and take the dog. Yimpukyimba was never worried by it again and lived till 1921. Cases of this sort are fairly common. One Longriziba of Yongyimsen sent in word to me one day in 1919 to say that a leopard was dogging his footsteps wherever he went, and was in the habit of spending the night under his house; he had poured water on it through the floor, but the creature did not seem to mind. I unfortunately could not go myself, so I sent a very reliable interpreter to find out if there was any truth in the story. He returned and reported that he had himself kept watch and seen the animal close to the house at night, and, to make doubly sure, had carefully looked for, and found, its tracks in the morning. In 1923 households both at Satsekpa and Changki were troubled in this way. In one case the leopard, I was told, had more than once climbed on to the back platform and the roof of the house. It was shot at and apparently wounded in the foot within two yards of the door. Whatever the facts may be, there can be no doubt as to the

belief of both Satsekpa and Changki in these curious hauntings. More than once the door was left open and a trap set in the outer room, the leopard's quarry being well barricaded in the inner room. On two occasions the villagers went so far as to bait a box trap with the hunted man instead of a goat, a most unpleasant position for him even with a good strong partition between his share of the trap and the leopard's. The leopard hung round on both occasions but would not enter. I may say that the villagers of Satsekpa and Changki who took an active part in the business are all Christians. The Satsekpa leopard was eventually shot in February 1924, a few feet from the 'haunted' man's house.

Public Ceremonies

A large number of ceremonies, both public and private have already been described under their appropriate headings, and certain features common to all or nearly all of them will have been noted. The "*madhu*," which plays a part in all of them, must be made in circumstances of ceremonial purity from rice cooked on a fire lighted with a fire thong or quartz and iron, and not with foreign matches. The man who is to perform the sacrifice must remain chaste the night before, and those concerned, whether a single household or a whole village, must refrain from mixing with their fellow men for a certain time afterwards. A household under this prohibition is spoken of as *anembong* (C) or *kimung* (M), and a village is said to observe *amung* (C and M). The strictness of the prohibition varies much with the different ceremonies, and release from the restrictions is often marked by a ceremonial bathing. Throughout all ceremonies six is the special number for a man and five for a woman. A fowl, usually a cock, is almost invariably sacrificed and always in the same way. It is plucked alive while a prayer is offered, and its throat is then cut with a little bamboo knife. When the flutterings are over the base of the stomach is opened and the entrails are extracted and examined to see what their state foretells. When a pig is sacrificed it is stroked with a sharpened bamboo while a

prayer is offered, and then stuck through the right side till the bamboo reaches the heart

A few public ceremonies remain to be described. One called *Aobz* (C and M) is performed annually in the spring. During the cold weather the villagers have been wandering far and wide, trading, visiting and so on. Now all are back ready to settle down for a summer's hard work in the fields. All evil influence or infection picked up elsewhere in the cold weather must be got rid of. A village priest goes round the village praying that it may be cleansed and urging all to get rid of any evil they may have about them. He is followed by his assistant carrying a basket, into which everyone throws something—usually a rag or a piece of dirty cotton wool—with the words "With this let all evil go." Then the priest and his assistant go to a neighbouring stream and throw the load into it with a prayer that it may carry away all evil. They sacrifice and eat a dog or pig and a fowl outside the village fence and fix a stick across the path. Whoever from another village first passes the stick will bring all the evil upon himself.¹

In the event of a serious epidemic in the village, a ceremony called *Waraleptang* ("pestilence killing" C) or *Waramayin* ("pestilence expelling" M) is performed. The men of the village turn out, and hunt for and bring in a live gibbon (They are very common and tame in the Ao country, where they are not eaten). While all women and children remain in the houses with the doors shut the village priest drags it through the village. In Mongsen villages the men all shout and hammer on the houses with the backs of their "daos" while this is going on in order to drive out the pestilence.² The whole village having been traversed, the priest kills the gibbon with a blow on the head, saying "We are driving out pestilence to-day. Go pestilence, with this gibbon." Its head is cut off and stuck on a stick,

¹ Cf. *The Sema Nagas* p. 231 n. Mulls. *The Lhota Nagas* p. 136. Marshall. *The Karen People of Burma*, p. 241. Similarly the Thado gets rid of a pest of bugs in his house by wrapping one of them in a little parcel and slipping it into the basket of a visitor.—J. H. H.

² Cf. *The Angami The-ulepu* "genna," *The Angami Nagas*, p. 208 sq.—J. H. H.

and its body split in two, and half set up on each side of the path. A stick is fixed across the path as a barrier, and no strangers may enter the village that day. The men all go down to a stream and bathe, and as soon as they return the doors of the houses may be opened and the women and children may come out.

Another village ceremony is called *Yimkūlamshi* or *Yungkungkulam* (C), or *Ayimkamshi* (M). A young bull is subscribed for by the whole village and sacrificed about July. Some villages perform this ceremony every year for the good of the crops, others every two or three years, and others again only in years when no one in the village has performed a mithan sacrifice, for which it is regarded as a substitute.

A ceremony (*Mangkotūrongtotok* C; *Yimungtokchuk* M), which clearly illustrates the belief that the taking of heads brings prosperity,¹ is performed every year by the Chongli, and by the Mongsen whenever the crops show signs of failing, or the village has to be purified after an "apotia"² death. The Chongli procedure is as follows: The war-leader sacrifices a cock in front of the head-tree and lays offerings of meat and rice on the ground, with a prayer that the village may prosper and have good crops. Then he offers at the drum another cock and a wild bird caught by the boys of the "morung" in the jungle in the early morning. The drum is then beaten as if a head had been brought in. In a Mongsen village a village priest holds up a fowl in front of the head-tree, and, naming all the villages with which his village is traditionally at war, prays that the young men may get heads from those villages and that the village crops may be good. Finally he beheads the fowl as if it were an enemy, and dances in triumph round the fluttering corpse. The head and body, with a stick run through them, are

¹ The Karens are reported to state quite explicitly that the *L'la*—souls—of human beings become a sort of pupa—*agheu*—which resembles an egg or bladder filled with a vaporous substance. When these *agheu* burst, their contents spread over and fertilize the fields, since this vapour is the fructifying substance, which again passes into bodies via the grain eaten and so to the seminal fluid, enabling men and animals to propagate life (Marshall, *op cit*, p. 222)—J. H. H.

² See p. 283 *infra*.—J. P. M.

suspended from a bamboo leaning against the head-tree, just as a head is hung up. Then six men in full dress approach the head-tree, singing as if they were bringing in a head, and give the war-cry six times. Then they go to the drum, which is vigorously beaten by the bucks of the "morung," and summon the heads of enemy villages to come and be hung up. The proceedings close with the war-cry again six times repeated.

The age of miracles is not yet over in the Ao country. Two suns are still sometimes seen in the sky at once,¹ and hermaphrodite pigs are far from being unknown. One was reported born in Khensa in 1921. Unfortunately it was destroyed before I could see it; but it was held responsible for the poor rice crop of 1922. When a miracle of this sort occurs the village where it is observed sacrifices a pig to ward off the evil fate and keeps one day's *amung* called *Tsayatenyamung* (C and M), and each village as it hears of it follows its example. A typical case occurred in 1920. A party of Changs, it was reported, on their way from one village to another on the far Eastern boundary of their country, met a stranger who offered them a drink from a "chungu" of "madhu." They all drank, but, to their amazement, when all had satisfied their thirst the "chungu" was as full as ever. Then the stranger said that he was a spirit and that if each village as it heard of his apparition did not sacrifice a pig and keep one day's *amung* he would bring the world to an end. The story and its concomitant *amung* spread from village to village. An incident, which I am assured is true, gave it a great fillip. In one village a Chang said he did not believe such nonsense and went down to his fields on the day of the *amung*. As he reached the village on his return in the evening he dropped down dead. No more doubts were cast on the story after this. It reached British territory, and Ao villages observed the *amung* one after the other. The Semas, too, were taking no risks and, beginning with the villages near Ungma, kept a day's "genna" as they heard the story. The impetus was lost by this

¹ Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 226. Parhela are regarded as serious portents in China (Dennys, *Folk-Lore of China*, p. 120) — J. H. H.

time, however, and the story died a natural death before it reached the Angamis ¹

Miscellaneous Private Ceremonies

One or two typical occasional ceremonies remain to be described before passing on to the Feasts of Merit. One is a ceremony called *Aptok* (C) or *Apchuk* (M), by which a house is cleansed from lurking evil. A man may be told by a "medicine man," or be warned by a dream, that some disaster to his house is impending. He therefore calls in a "medicine man," the only person who can deal with the abnormal. The latter comes and makes a broom which is guaranteed to entangle and get rid of any evil influences there may be about. To the top of a nettle stalk he binds some bamboo twigs and three cane shoots with long, sharp reversed thorns. On the lower end he binds two leaf cups and some *am* leaves. With this he sweeps out every hole and corner in the house, collecting as he goes round clumps from the posts and odd ends of tying bamboo. All this rubbish and the broom he throws away outside the village fence. The house is then clean.

Sores and ulcers are very prevalent among Nagas and to get rid of them a man performs a ceremony, which the Chongli call *Sentsuktok* and the Mongsen *lakchuk*. He goes down to the overflow of the village spring below the village in the early morning, "before the birds have dropped their dung into the streams," taking with him six ² miniature bamboo tie shaped hoes, a gourd spoon and bit of old cloth. He washes himself six times with water ladled up with the gourd and scrapes himself with the miniature hoes, saying "May all my sores go down to the Brahmaputra. I am washing in clean water." He then sets a stick up and hangs on it the piece of cloth, the gourd and the hoes and says "May this get the sores instead of me." This ceremony is sometimes used for other complaints, besides sores and ulcers if they are stubborn and show no signs of getting better.

¹ It is curious that this rumour should have coincided approximately at any rate with the similar rumour in Great Britain and I believe in the U.S.A.—J H H

² A woman would of course take five and would wash five times.—J H H

Feasts of Merit

So important a part do Feasts of Merit play in Ao life, and such valuable examples of Naga ceremonial at its fullest do they provide, that no picture of the tribe could claim to be complete without a full description of them. In order, however, to spare the reader who is already weary of the minutiae of custom the details have been relegated to an appendix. A brief description will here suffice. The feasts are a series of ceremonies each more important than the last, culminating in the mithan sacrifice. It is the ambition of every Ao to proceed as far as he can in the series and thereby gain for himself honour both in this life and after death, and for his clan and village the favour of the spirits and the prosperity (*aren*)¹ of great men of the past. He wins, too, thereby the coveted right of wearing certain cloths and ornaments and of decorating his house in a particular way, and the skulls of the sacrificed animals hanging in the outer room bring prosperity not only to him but to his heirs who inherit them after him.² No one but a married man can give any of the feasts, for the wife plays an honourable and conspicuous part throughout. The labour entailed in collecting firewood, making "*madhu*," preparing food, cutting up meat and so on is very great, and is only accomplished with the aid of two formal friends of the sacrificer, who have special duties assigned to them throughout, and of the men who have married or can marry women whom the sacrificer calls "*sister*," that is to say, men not of the sacrificer's phratry. The actual killing is never done by the giver of the feast, who may not even see the blow struck or taste any of the meat of the bull or mithan sacrificed.

The Chongli Series

The Chongli series is as follows. The first ceremony is called *Nashu Achi* ("bull killing"). For this a red bull and

¹ The word is more or less identical in significance with the Polynesian *mana*. It is a curious coincidence that the Iroquois word should be *orenda*—J H H

² A mithan skull automatically brings *aren*. In August 1923 the Konyak village of Kamahu carried off in triumph a large number of mithan skulls belonging to their enemies Lungya quite confident that they would gain *aren* thereby—J P M

three pigs are required, the latter being used as extra provisions for the guests. The actual ceremonies last for five days. On the first, wood is collected by the sacrificer's relations-in-law (i.e. men who can marry women whom he calls "sister"), "madhu" is prepared, and the two formal friends of the sacrificer go into the jungle and cut the forked post which he will set up in front of his house. On the second day invitations are issued to the guests. The third day is the great day. The pigs are killed and the forked post is set up in front of the sacrificer's house, and the bull tethered to it. In the evening it is killed. This is the supreme moment. The sacrificer and his wife in full dress come out of their house, followed by the two formal friends. The couple pour water and "madhu" over the bull's head and scatter little scraps of fish and salt and rice over it. Each utters aloud a solemn prayer that, inasmuch as they are following the customs of their ancestors, the prosperity of their ancestors and of the whole Ao country may come to them. The prayer is repeated while the sacrificer plucks a chicken alive and drops the feathers on to the bull's head. Having taken the omens from the bird's entrails he and his wife re-enter the house, for they may on no account see the bull killed. The sacrificial act is carried out with horrible cruelty.¹ An old man of the sacrificer's clan slashes the animal deeply through the spine near the tail. The moment it falls with its hindquarters paralysed boys plunge their hands into the wound and fight for the blood. A man who stands in the relationship of elder brother to the sacrificer puts an end to its misery by striking it on the forehead with an axe. The meat is divided up, but none of it may on any account be eaten by the sacrificer or any of his household. Next morning the sacrificer and his wife wash ceremonially at the village spring. On the fifth day the sacrificer plucks a chicken over the bull's skull with the usual prayer and gives it to one of his clan priests to dry. At the next harvest he hangs the skull up in the front room of his house, having

¹ The plucking of fowls alive, the torture of animals before sacrifice and cruel methods of sacrifice are now forbidden, but for the sake of brevity they have been described in the present tense.—J. P. M.

plucked a chicken over it again and smeared rice flour on it. This little ceremony is repeated every harvest in order to ensure good crops.

Certain intermediate feasts must be given before a man can proceed to the mithan sacrifice. He gives two pigs to the village priests, and two to the councillors. Then he makes a present of meat to every man of his clan and one old man of every other clan in the village. This requires at least two cows and two or three pigs.

The ceremonies connected with the 'mithan sacrifice' (Suchi) open with a formal drying of rice for the sacrificer, by the senior village priest, and ceremonial pounding of rice on one day by women of the sacrificer's clan and on another by women of his wife's clan. All this involves many presents of meat. These preliminaries over, the ceremonies proper last for five days. On the first day it is publicly announced that the mithan will be tied up for sacrifice two days later. This is false—it will really be tied up next day¹—but the sky-folk must be deceived, for the death of a mithan on earth involves the death of one of them in the sky,² and if they knew in time they might take steps to prevent the sacrifice. On the second day the mithan is tied up to a post in the middle of the village street, at the place where dances are held. Its horns are decorated with tassels, a hornbill feather is stuck into its collar, and a basket containing a cock is hung round its neck. Next it is prepared for torture. A man with the reputation of being a good warrior hits it with a stick and baits it, while all the time men dance round it in a circle singing. It is then made slippery with a lather prepared from bark, and bucks come and wrestle with it.³ Three times it is thrown and danced on till it is half dead. Women dance in the sacrificer's house that night. Next day the animal is killed. As at the bull sacrifice, the sacrificer and his wife, with the two formal friends, come out of the house and pour offerings over the animal's head with a

¹ Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 224—J. H. H.

² See p. 224, *supra*.—J. P. M.

³ In Kar Nicobar the young men wrestle with the big boars killed at the great festival of the dead. (Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, p. 291.)—J. P. M.

solemn prayer. When they have re-entered the house an old man spears the mithan behind the right shoulder. The wound is not fatal and young bucks bring the poor beast to the ground by slashing the tendons of its legs, and drag it alive to the sacrificer's house. There a puppy is killed by being dashed against the mithan's head, and whether alive or dead it is cut open and disembowelled. Women of his clan again dance in the sacrificer's house. Before dawn next day two of the village priests climb on to the roof of the sacrificer's house and announce to the sky-folk the death of the mithan. Most of the day is occupied with dividing up the meat, the skull being treated in exactly the same way as the bull's skull. On the last day the sacrificer kills a pig in front of his granary. In the course of the year he twice sacrifices a pig at his field-house. A Chongli man may perform the mithan sacrifice as often as he likes, but three times completes the series, and entitles a man to display in his dress and the decoration of his house the full insignia of wealth. On one occasion in 1920 Yimnamiren of Mokongtsü sacrificed over forty mithan on one day.

For the bull sacrifice a Chongli man puts up a plain forked post, and for the first mithan sacrifice plain forked posts, often with a little carved hornbill's head on each arm of the Y, one for each animal. For the second he puts up squat round posts called *pulongsongsong* or *molungsongsong*. Sometimes some of them have on the top roughly carved pairs of hornbill heads facing one another. For the third sacrifice he puts up Y-shaped posts with the arms carved and painted to represent hornbill tail-feathers. These are called *lamtung*. The details vary much from village to village.

The Mongsen Series.

In its main features the Mongsen series resembles the Chongli, but there are sufficient differences to make a separate description necessary. The first sacrifice is that of a pig called *Thupetü* ("body-brushing"), performed in order that the sacrificer may pass on to give the greater feasts free of all evil influences. Later he kills a big pig in

¹ F. J. R. A. I., vol. LII, plate II, figs 3 and 4, and plate III, fig 1.—J. H. H.

POSTS COMMEMORATING THIRD NITHAN SACRIFICE CHONGLI
CHANTONGIA VILLAGE

27

POSTS COMMEMORATING FIRST AND SECOND NITHAN
SACRIFICE CHONG LI T N KAM VILLAGE





POSTS COMMEMORATING SECOND AND THIRD MYTHAN SACRIFICE CHONGLI
LONGSA VILLAGE



POSTS COMMEMORATING SECOND AND THIRD MYTHAN SACRIFICE CHONGLI
SANGRATSU VILLAGE

his fields and feasts the women of his clan and their husbands. He may then proceed to the bull sacrifice (*Masutsū*). For this a red bull and six pigs are required, and much dried fish. The husbands of women of his clan and two formal friends help him throughout. Anple firewood has to be collected, and a little hut, which will be his temporary abode, erected on his back platform. The ceremonies last for seven days. On the first day three pigs are killed, a forked post is set up in front of the house, and rice is pounded ceremonially by the women of his clan. In the evening the bull is thrown and danced on, and tied up to the forked post in front of the house. Next day the remaining three pigs are killed and in the evening the bull is sacrificed, the sacrificer and his wife remaining indoors. The Mongsen method is as cruel as the Chongli. The animal is speared behind the right shoulder and the tendons of its legs are cut through. Finally a clan priest pierces its forehead with an axe. There is a dance that night in the house. On the third day there is another dance, and on the next day a final distribution of meat is made. On the fifth day the sacrificer offers a pig, a fowl and an egg in front of his granary, and on the sixth day he and his household bathe. Finally on the last day he sacrifices a cock outside his house. The bull's skull is smeared with rice flour and hung up in the outer room at harvest, as among the Chongli.

A man must wait three years after performing the bull sacrifice before he can proceed to the mithan sacrifice. The ceremonies last for seven days. On the first a forked post is put up, and the mithan tortured by being thrown and danced on twice. For this the sacrificer apologizes to it, explaining that he was not responsible. Next day it is killed. As among the Chongli, the sacrificer, his wife and his two formal friends emerge from the house in procession and the couple make offerings, with solemn invocation. A puppy is killed and dashed in the mithan's face,¹ which is then killed, with great cruelty, as usual. It is felled by having the

¹ So in the Angami *lisū* a puppy is associated with a bull calf, both, apparently, as substitutes for human beings (*J.R.A.I.* LII. 69). The *lisū* corresponds roughly to the Ao mithan sacrifice—J. H. H.

tendons of its legs severed, and the skin behind the right shoulder is cut. A clan priest pushes a pointed rice-pounder home, usually so feebly that someone has to help him. Finally it is hit on the forehead with an axe. No one goes near the carcass that night for fear of the sky-folk, but dancing is kept up in the house till dawn. Next day the meat is divided up, and on the fourth day more meat is distributed and the hut on the platform demolished. On the fifth day the sacrificer offers a pig, a fowl and an egg outside his granary, and on the sixth day kills a cock outside his house. On the eighth day meat is sent to friends in neighbouring villages. The skull is treated in the same way as the bull's skull.¹

Three years later another enormous feast is given, at which not less than one cow and thirty pigs are killed and eaten. The dancing and feasting go on for days. After another interval of three years a man may give another mithan sacrifice. This completes the series; and no one, however rich, can give more.¹ A plain forked post is put up for the bull and every mithan killed. Squat round posts and carved forked posts, such as the rich Chongli display, are not put up, save in a few villages where Chongli influence is very strong, and in Lungkam, where a round post surmounted by three small hornbill heads is put up to commemorate the first mithan sacrifice.²

Birth.

An Ao longs to have children. Sons are most desired, but daughters too are welcome. *πλεῶν μὲν ἄλδους μελέτη, μείζων δ' ἐπιθήκη.* From childhood till marriage

¹ Similarly men of the Alingri clan in Changkt may only perform the mithan sacrifice twice, though men of other clans may repeat it as often as they like — J. P. M.

² One is reminded of the Wa skull-posts: "Im oberen Teile des Pfostens befindet sich eine dreieckige Nische, in die der Schädel gelegt wird" (Freiherrn von Heine Geldern, *Kopfschl und Menschenopfer in Assam und Birma*, Anthropologische Gesellschaft, 1917, p. 5). As it is quite clear that the calf sacrificed by the Angamis at their *Laku* (post erecting) ceremony is a substitute for a human being (c. J. R. A. I. LII, "Carved Monoliths at Dimapur, etc."), it is possible that the Ao mithan is a similar substitute, and that this has led to the formulation of the theory of the identity of soul between the mithan and the sky folk, and vice versa, some such action being required to justify the substitution of cattle for human beings as sacrifices — J. H. H.

one of my Ao interpreters a most intelligent man, was very worried because his little daughter was slow in learning to walk. He was advised by a "medicine man" that it was because he had partaken of a tortoise of mine that had had to be killed shortly before the child's birth. He therefore hung a little bit of tortoise skin by a thread round her neck, and to its efficacy ascribed the fact that she soon learnt to walk. The line of argument in these cases is difficult to grasp. One would think at first sight that to eat the turtle or hang the tortoise skin round the child's neck would only make things worse. But the Ao apparently reasons that, having come under the influence of the evil thing, the best thing he can do is to bring it into more intimate contact and so into his power.

When an expectant mother thinks that there are only two more months to elapse before the birth of her child, she tells her husband and he must refrain from intercourse from that time on "or the child in the womb will feel shame and die." Intercourse is resumed three months after the birth, but may only take place when the baby is asleep. Intercourse is also never indulged in during the menstrual flow, but can be resumed again immediately it ceases.

It is considered most important that if possible the father should be present at the birth of his child.¹ Otherwise the delivery will be a difficult one. If the husband happens to be away when his wife's labour begins, and comes hurrying home when he hears the news, it is believed that the child "waits for its father" and will not be born till he arrives. The woman is delivered in a squatting position, supported by her husband and her mother, unless the latter is of the husband's clan. If she is, she may not be present, for the husband would feel shame before her at such a time.² The umbilical cord is held by the mother with her toe and cut by the father with a bamboo knife³ between the toe and the child. Six such knives are prepared by the father before the

¹ So too the Angami, I think—J H H

² See p 162 *supra*—J P M

³ So too the Mui of Annam (Baudouin *Indo China and its Frontier People* p 17) and the Memei sub-tribe of the Angami Nagas and indeed probably all Naga tribes—J H H

birth, one being thrown away if the child proves to be a daughter. The one used and the other five, or four as the case may be, are tied in a bundle and stuck into the thatch over the mother's bed in order to ward off evil spirits. The child is washed and the father touches it with his left hand, and with his right hand puts into its mouth a little masticated rice, saying: "I have touched it before the *tsungrem*. No *tsungrem* can seize this child." The after-birth is washed and disposed of as follows: The father places it in a basket lined with leaves, and some distance behind the house, but exactly in line with the hearth, makes a sort of pen rack about six feet high of crossed sticks and bamboos. For a boy he uses three sticks and three bamboos and for a girl two sticks and three bamboos. On this he places the basket, flanked with six (or five, if for a girl) imitation snares made of slips of bamboo. The object is said to be to frighten crows away. After putting the basket and snares in position the father walks away a few yards, and returns five times for a boy and four times for a girl. Ordinarily the after-birth is never looked at again, but it is believed that if maggots get at it the baby will cry. If a new-born child therefore gives the household sleepless nights the father goes and examines the after-birth and pours hot water on it to kill any maggots which may be there. When the navel cord drops off it is wrapped up by the mother with a tuft of the child's hair in a bit of rag and preserved in a basket in the house. When the child is six months or more old the mother goes and hides this little package in the jungle. Should the house be burnt

as his. If he be dead it can be done by the mother or by the grandfather on either side.¹ If the father of an illegitimate child be unknown the mother pierces its ears, but the child can never be admitted into any clan and must always bear the shame of its birth. It is for this reason that Ao women invariably bring maintenance cases before the child is born, and an order of this nature against a man is always to the effect that he must build a house in which the child can be born (for a girl cannot give birth to a child in her parents' house,² she would feel shame before her father), must pierce the child's ears, and must pay so much a month maintenance. The child is named by whoever pierces its ears at the time that this ceremony is performed. Aos attach so much importance to the name that a separate section has been assigned to the subject below. A household is "genna" for six days after the birth of a boy and for five days after the birth of a girl. On the seventh (or sixth) day the parents wash at the village spring, and on the next day the husband offers a fowl and an egg in front of his field house. This concludes the ceremonies.

In cases of difficult delivery, baskets and any other closed receptacles there may be in the house are opened, and a fowl or a pig is offered outside the house to appease whatever evil spirit is responsible. Occasionally the woman's stomach is poulticed with cloths dipped in hot water.

So terrible is the stigma on a child whom no one will acknowledge as his that in the old days mothers often preferred to do away with them. Sometimes abortion was practised. When the woman was well advanced in pregnancy an old woman was called in who, having caused the girl to starve for six days, felt for the head of the child and either bit it or hit it a sharp blow with a smooth stone. More usually, however, the child was killed immediately after birth by the mother, who stamped on its neck. Abortion

¹ In some villages the ear is always pierced by the grandfather if the father be young, on the ground that a young man will suffer from cataract if he does this.—J. P. M.

² Among the Angami also illegitimate births, &c. births of children whose paternity no one will admit, take place in the jungle (*cf. The Angamis Nagas*, p. 217).—J. H. H.

and infanticide are, of course, forbidden now, and there is also less temptation to practise them. In the old days it was chiefly slave girls who got rid of their children—if they did bring a claim against a man there was no one to support their cause and no impartial tribunal to which they could bring it. Now any girl who comes to Court can get her claim decided one way or the other, and many a young buck, whom family influence and bribes would have got off in the old days, finds himself compelled to acknowledge his offspring whether he likes it or not. But illegitimate children are much disliked, for their existence is believed to prevent the birth of legitimate children. Usually, therefore, if the parties are unmarried they square matters by marrying before the child is born. After all, an Ao marriage often does not last very long, and if the couple find they are not as fond of one another as they thought they were, they can easily separate.

Children born at or just before the dark of the moon are believed by their love of meat to show their resemblance to tigers and leopards, which are supposed always to be born at this time of the month. Triplets are unknown, and twins, which are rare, are disliked. Both are kept, but their birth is supposed to forebode the early death of one of the parents,¹ or at any rate of some near relation. Children are often not weaned till they are three years old, boys being suckled longer than girls as a rule. But from a very tender age they are given masticated rice. The process of feeding is a most curious one to watch. The mother sits with the child on her knee and chews little mouthfuls of boiled rice, which she shoots from her mouth into the child's. The child understands what is happening quite well and as it swallows each mouthful pouts its lips to receive the next dainty morsel, exactly as a young bird opens its mouth for the next worm. Women who are sisters or paternal first cousins often suckle each other's children, and should the mother die no one but a sister or paternal first cousin or the

¹ So some Sema (*vide The Sema Nagas* p. 262) but most Sema like the Angami object to twins as weaker than single children and therefore less likely to survive particularly as if one goes the other is likely to follow suit because they are twins.—J. H. H.

child's grandmother may perform this duty. A widower who can find no one to suckle his child has to keep it alive as best he can on masticated rice, eggs and soup. Strange though it may seem, many babies flourish quite well on this diet. For motherless twins it is the only possible diet, for no one may suckle them after the mother's death.

Nomenclature

The day after a child is born it is called by some name and ordinarily that name will be formally bestowed upon it next day, when its ears are pierced. Should it cry much however, during the first day, another name is chosen and bestowed when its ears are pierced, for the first name clearly did not agree with it. The name chosen must be that of a dead ancestor, a living relation's name cannot be selected nor would a father give to another child the name of a former child which had died young. If a man is killed in war none of his descendants may take his name unless the disgrace has been wiped out by the taking of a head in exchange. If a man dies "apotia" his name is never again taken by any descendant, and however wealthy he may have been his name is never included in the lists of rich ancestors recited at mithan sacrifices. Save when an unpleasant name is given for a special reason,¹ an Ao invariably has a high sounding name. This does not mean that they are a particularly bombastic race, the reason is that their names resemble titles, great men in the past by displays of wealth and valour having earned for their descendants the right to use certain names. Thus the mildest of youths may be called Rokritangba ("taker of three-score heads") or a man who has never been on a raid in his life Latimmang yang ("taker of a head in exchange from Latim"). Certain terminations are common. For instance, *niken* means "envied" (e.g. Mangyangniken—"envied for taking a head in exchange," or Rongsenniken—"envied for his riches"), *wati* means "rich in" (e.g. Subungwati—"rich in mithan sacrifices" or Rongsenwati—"rich in wealth"), *lamba* means "rich in," "copious giver" (e.g. Subunglamba—"gen

¹ See p. 269, *infra*—J. P. M.

erous giver at mithan sacrifices," or Chongsilambā—"generous giver at feasts of peace making," or Sakulamba—"rich in heads") Other typical men's names are Mendangchibā ("great ambusher"), Lanukamzak ("saviour of the boys," i.e. withstood the enemy, and so saved the lives of the village boys), Yimtitangzak (C) or Yimtitonglak (M) ("defender of the village"), Yimnasusu ("village rearguard") Repanokten ("killer of a pair") and Pongrichibā ("leader of a band") Women's names are earned and bestowed on the same principle Typical examples are Tunikshila ("envied one"), Latunglamla ("rich in slaves"), Temchenchila ("chief among the rich"), Mangyangsangla ("receiver of praise at the taking of a head in exchange") or Pangchonghila ("pleased at purchases," i.e. of mithan or slaves) A common name for the daughter of Christian parents is Yimcharenla ("prosperity of Christianity"), though the belief in *aren* (see p 112, *supra*) has nothing whatever to do with Christianity.

If a young child be weakly and always ailing the "medicine man," on being consulted, pronounces it to be a case of *tening mokok* ("name unable"), that is to say, the child's name is too great for it A little pig is then chosen and some of the child's spittle is smeared on it, six times for a boy and five times for a girl The animal is then fattened up and sacrificed—among the Mongsēn by the senior clan priest, and among the Chongli by the grandfather—with the words "This child is ill and cannot carry its name Let wind and water bear away its illness Let it grow up like a cane-shoot and like a bamboo shoot" Fowls are then sacrificed with a similar prayer If this ceremony is unsuccessful a new, opprobrious name (usually some combination of *likok*, "bitter berry") is given to the child A similar name is also given to a child born after several children have died in infancy, in the hope that the *tiya* will not think it worth its while to take away a child with such an objectionable name¹

In the Chongli and Mongsēn groups a man usually has one name only, but in the Changli group many have two

¹ So the Karens (Marshall, *op cit*, p 170)—J H H

man are given a drink, but nothing is said about the marriage. In the morning he goes again to the girl's parents' house and is given a meal. If the girl's parents eat of the fish brought, the day before it means that they agree to the marriage.¹ The young man and the girl then go off and cut wood, which they bring to her parents' house. The marriage price is discussed and decided on within the next few days. It is not big as a rule, varying from five to sixty baskets of rice, with, in some villages, a leather shield and one or more "daos." The bridegroom builds a house in the cold weather and on the day of the marriage pays over the price agreed upon. This is returned if the girl leaves him within a year. In the evening his formal friends light a fire with a fire-thong for the first time in the new house, and the bridegroom sets ready by it some fermented rice and a pot, and leans a long hollow bamboo of water against the wall. Then, accompanied by men of his clan, he goes to the girl's parents' house. Outside he is met by a party of men who have married women of his clan, and he and his friends are given food and drink. An old man of the girl's clan then sacrifices a cock and takes the omens from its entrails. When this is over, the bride, in her best clothes and preceded by three old women of her clan, comes out of the house and goes to her new home, the first old woman carrying a bamboo spoon and an imitation tethering rope made of bamboo slips. The bridegroom does not follow at once. The bride and three

¹ I suppose that they give the girl some of this fish to eat (cf. *infra*, p. 273). Anyhow, this association of fish with marriage is common in parts of India and is also found in China (Kidd, *China*, p. 332), and it forms part of the bridegroom's gift among the Palaungs of Burma just as among the Aos (Milne, *op. cit.* p. 154). It is possibly due to the peculiar fecundity of fish, which are also commonly regarded in South India as repositories of the souls of the dead (*Man in India*, III. 130 sq., 1923). In Bengal the fish is the symbol of married life and widows may not eat it, while it is eaten by a woman whose husband is ill in order to prolong her married life and so bring about her husband's recovery (*id.* I. 73). Virgin widows, however, having lost their husbands before puberty, are allowed to eat fish in parts of Eastern Bengal (Mookerjee, *Travels in Bengal*, p. 272). Dulaure (*Divinités génératrices*, p. 230 n.) cites Burchard, *De Poenitentia Deceptorum*, lib. xix, as follows: —*Fecisti quod quaedam mulieres facere solent? Tollunt pisces vivum et mittunt eum in puerperium suum et tamdiu ibi tenent donec mortuus fuerit, et decocto pisce vel assato, maritis suis ad comedendum trahunt. Ideo faciunt hoc ut plus in amorem earum exardescant. Si fecisti, duos annos per legitimas ferias poeniteas.* Cf. also Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, II, p. 130, Perry, *Children of the Sun*, p. 11, and Brewster, *Hill Tribes of India*, p. 51 — J. H. H.

old women prepare and drink "madhu" from the fermented rice, not without much broad jesting on the part of the old hags. While this is going on the bridegroom enters. With him are two or three formal friends, one of whom carries the bride's bed. There also come three girls, usually those who have shared the bride's sleeping quarters with her. They bring with them a cooking pot, some salt and six *chabili*. After an old man of the bridegroom's clan has killed a cock and taken the omens outside the door all drink together and the old women and formal friends of the bridegroom depart but the three girls remain behind and sleep in the house for three nights. The newly married couple must not have connection for nine nights. For the first three mornings after the wedding they must remain in their house till the girls have brought them meat, fish and rice from the parents of both. The evening meals they eat in their respective parents' house, for nothing may be cooked in the new house for three days. On the fourth and fifth days they are no longer confined to the house in the morning but they must still eat in their parents' houses, though "snacks" may be cooked in the new house. On the sixth day the parents of both send pots and raw food, and the bride enters upon her life long duty of cooking meals for her husband. In Mokongtsu and some other villages the newly married couple eat in their parents' houses till the next *Moatsü* festival and only sleep together in the new house if they so desire. During this period each can consort with a former flame without incurring any censure.

The Mongsen custom is rather different. Some time in the rains a young man lets it be known that he wishes to marry a certain girl with whom he has probably been consorting for some time. The mothers of the two parties meet and talk, and if all goes well the man sends a friend as an intermediary (*langpathung*) to make a formal proposal to the girl's parents. At first they pretend to reject the proposal, saying that their daughter is ignorant and idle and not fit to be married. But the *langpathung* goes again and this time they agree. The couple are then regarded as engaged. They sleep together in the girl's dormitory, and

are expected to remain faithful to one another. The man works for about a month in the girl's parents' house, and she for a month in his house. The man then goes down with twenty or thirty friends and poisons a stream for fish. A large share of the catch is taken by the *langpathung* to the girl's parents. Of this they return a portion to him and from the rest send presents to their relations, the man's relations, and the girls in their daughter's age group. This is regarded as a public announcement of the engagement. In the cold weather the couple must help to cut the jungle, first on the girl's parents' fields and then on those of the man's parents. This done, the man sets to work to build a house. He pays all expenses, but the girl's parents give him one basket of fermented rice, a present of meat, and one bundle of thatch. Three days before the wedding the bridegroom sends the *langpathung* with two formal friends to ask finally what marriage price is required. This is little more than a formality, for the matter has already been thoroughly discussed. The price is called *chamen*, and consists of from ten to twenty baskets of rice and a good "dao." If the woman desert her husband within four months half this price is returned, if her husband leave her within four months she is entitled to all there is in the house, if the couple separate after four months the marriage price is not returned and the contents of the house are divided. The day before the marriage the event is formally announced throughout the village by elderly relations on both sides. On the morning of the wedding day all those who received fish from the girl's parents bring little return presents of cotton, rice, cooking pots and so on. In return the girl's parents kill a pig and entertain them. On this day all the girls of the bride's age group bring in two loads of firewood each. A little of this is given to the parents on either side, and the rest stacked at the new house. The girls then pound rice for the bride's parents. She in turn invites to her parents' house all the boys of the age group corresponding to her own, they have been her companions in the fields from her childhood, and she now gives them "madhu" in return for all the firewood they have cut for her in the past.

Divorce

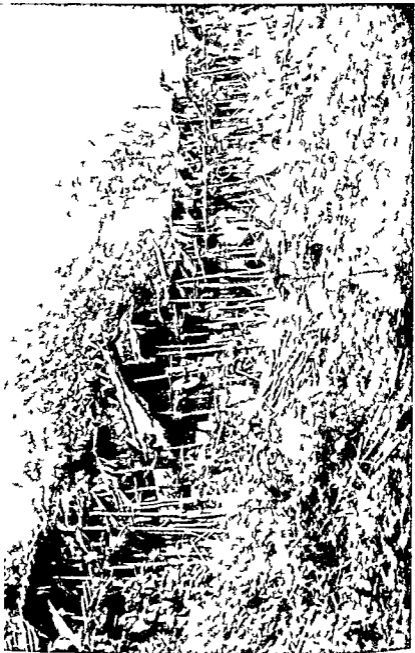
Divorce is such a common sequel to an Ao marriage that any attempt to describe the life cycle of the tribe must contain some account of it. It is exceptional to meet a middle aged Ao man or woman who has kept the same partner throughout. One day I ventured to wish good luck to a boy who was just about to marry for the first time. He replied calmly that he did not suppose the marriage would last long. Nor did it. Within a year he had fallen in love with someone else's wife, got rid of his own, compensated the aggrieved husband and married his new flame. It is quite common for two men to fall in love with each other's wives and effect an exchange by a simultaneous divorce. The usual reason given when a couple do not get on is that the *tiya* are at variance (*tiya mecham* C and M). Certain acts make reconciliation difficult or impossible. If one of the couple during a quarrel deliberately breaks a hearth stone they will almost certainly separate, but reconciliation is possible. If however, one of them swears that they will separate and breaks a *chabili* or other piece of iron, they can never live together again.¹ The house site must be abandoned and will probably never be used by anyone again—certainly not till a purificatory sacrifice has been performed on it. Commonly there is a woman in the case. If the wife at the time of divorce can prove that a certain woman is responsible for alienating her husband's affections her relatives can demand a fine from the intruder, who is then free to marry the man. Often a man ceases to care for his wife, but denies that she has any particular rival. She is then entitled on the day she leaves her husband to name any woman she suspects and to fix a sum, often as much as forty or fifty rupees to be paid by the man if he marries that particular rival. The guess is generally a pretty shrewd one, and the man often decides that the cat being out of the bag, there is no point in waiting and pays down the money and takes the woman to his house the same day.

¹ Cf. *The Sema Nagas* p. 166, Mills *The Loloi Nagas*, p. 187. Herodotus I 165—J. H. H.

the rice on the new fields and the woman that on the old fields, or vice versa, but the man is entitled to cut one load of rice from round the field-house in the fields assigned to the woman, for that portion of the crop contains his *aren*. As to other property, chillies and dried bamboo pickle are equally divided, but of fresh bamboo pickle all but a small portion goes to the woman. She also gets all dried fish and dried meat except one day's supply of each. Of salt, one parcel goes to the woman and the rest to the man. She can keep the best of the raw cotton, which she has set aside for clothes for herself and her husband, and divide the rest equally with him. Or she may take all the cotton and make and give him a cloth later. If there are in the house cloths woven for sale and not for home use they are divided in the same proportion as the cash was divided. All thread, except enough to make one cloth, goes to the woman. All mats for the field-house and one mat for drying rice go to the man, the rest to the woman. She is also entitled to all baskets, except one basket for carrying rice, one measuring-basket and the man's own travelling-basket. The pounding-table and pestles go to the woman, and if there is only one bed she gets that too, but if there are two the husband gets one. All the dishes, except the man's personal one, go to her, and she is in theory entitled to the granary, but this latter right she must sell to the man for a parcel of salt. If there is only one axe the woman gets it, but if there are more than one the husband keeps one.

One looks at these rules and marvels at their minuteness. The Ao has the reputation of being vilely litigious. So he is in some matters. But it says much for him that a dispute over the division of property at a divorce is very rarely brought into Court. The relations and village councillors know their customary law and administer it, usually to the satisfaction of both parties. Perhaps practice has made them perfect.

Death Ceremonies.



body)¹ Go and settle on that." That is why they come to a dead body so quickly. The old custom, which, as far as I know, is only kept up fully in Longmisa nowadays, was to put the corpse, wrapped in cloths, on a platform in the outer room of the house and light a fire under it. It was thus smoke dried and kept till the eating of the first-fruits of the next harvest,² when it was laid out on a platform near the village path. If the gruesome bundle was not well blackened the relations were told they had not given the dead man his due of loving attention. Till the corpse was taken out of the house a small portion of every meal was set aside for the dead man. Many villages now do not dry their corpses at all, but some do so for a short time. For instance, in Mokongtsu a man's corpse is kept in the house for six days and a woman's for five—that is to say, for the period during which the household is "genna."³ Sangratsu keep a corpse for a month. But in most villages it is taken to the cemetery on the day after death. Each "Khel" in an Ao village has its own cemetery as a rule. This consists of a long line of corpse platforms by the side of the main path near the village. Its position is never changed, new platforms being placed in the gaps where old platforms have rotted away. Were a cemetery to be moved there would, it is believed, be many deaths in the

¹ "Plantain stem" seems to be a widely spread slang term for a man. In 1923 the Phom village of Urangkong demanded a "plantain tree" from Phomeching in settlement of a quarrel, meaning thereby a slave to be beheaded. In Micronesia—the Pelew Islands—a plantain stump is used as a substitute for a child (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, III 235). So in Polynesia a plantain tree was substituted for a human being in certain ceremonies (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, II 336, III 37), while it is put to the same purpose in a Malagasy folk tale (Sibree, *Méda gascar before the Conquest*, p. 241 *sq.*), and in Fiji a plantain tree is used to represent a human being whom it is desired to bewitch (Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 234). Among the Palaungs the expression "plantain (banana) tree" is used as a synonym for "human being" and the tree itself as an emblem of fertility (Milne, *op cit* pp. 73, 80, 158). It is to be noted that canoes in Fiji were launched over human bodies tied to plantain trees (*id* p. 75) which are also used in certain ceremonies in the Society Islands and in Tahiti (*First Missionary Voyage, etc.*, pp. 108, 157). —J. H. H.

² Cf. the Mundas of Chota Nagpur (Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, pp. 465–466), and the Kacharis (Soppitt, *Kachari Tribes in the North Cachar Hills*, p. 40), both of whom associate funeral ceremonies with the harvest following. —J. H. H.

³ In Santa Maria a death feast of six days is held for a man and one of five days for a woman. Cf. Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 273. —J. P. M.

the platform, the nearest relative of the deceased accompanying them with a load containing rice, meat, dishes, cups and all the things the dead man will want in the next world. This is hung from the front of the platform. Should a stranger do this because the heir cannot, or will not, he is entitled to a field from the dead man's property. Many friends and relations accompany the bier as onlookers. In front of the platform, if of a man, are arranged a full set of ornaments (mostly imitation), "daos," and spears with wooden blades (for it is forbidden to put iron near a corpse), and a good cloth is usually hung just below the platform. A man who has taken a head is given a cane with which to strike his victim on the road to the Land of the Dead,¹ and one who has done the mithan sacrifice is given a rope where-
with to lead his ghostly mithan. On the ground in front short lengths of bamboo cut slantwise give the tally of "gennas" performed by the deceased, and the heads of the animals he has sacrificed are there in wooden effigy. In the old days human skulls were invariably arranged in front of the platform of their owners. Since they have all been destroyed by Government, gourds or wooden models have to take their place nowadays. At Changki, but nowhere else, I have seen put up what I was told were representations of slaves owned by the dead man. They were little tubes of bamboo with scraps of rag stuck in the bottom. Similarly, a woman is given clothes, food, utensils, imitation necklaces, and all she can want in the next world. If she be rich a big round rain hat is hung up.² When all is over the relative who brought the load throws down a little parcel of ginger and meat to ward off evil influences, and takes his departure first, were he to go last the dead man would catch him. On reaching home all wash their hands, and a bamboo "chungu," with the end sheed off afresh, is filled with water and placed ready for the soul of the dead man, which will appear as a hawk two days later.³ Finally the chief mourner pulls a thread out of his cloth and throws it away with a request to the dead man not to come and seize him. Two days later the soul in the form of a hawk will appear over the house.

¹ See p. 229 *supra* — J P M

² See p. 41 *supra* — J P M

³ Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 208 — J H H

(there are plenty of hawks in the Naga Hills and one always appears at or near the proper time) As soon as it is seen water from the "chung" is poured on to the ground with the words ' Drink this water Do not be angry Go Do not seek us You have become different and we have become different Thus abjured the bird is supposed to take its departure This practice has given rise to an Ao saying If a man pays a visit and is not given the food and drink to which he considers himself entitled he murmurs " It is like not pouring out water for a dead man's hawk

At least for six (or for a woman five) days after a death no member of the household may kill anything in case it should be the soul of the departed In some villages this prohibition is observed for a month or even longer

If a child be born dead it is wrapped in a cloth and some bamboo matting and put on a platform at one end of the cemetery without any ceremony or ornaments Children that die in infancy are always put on a platform close to that of some relation so that they shall not be lonely If a baby dies before it is three months old, that is to say before it has worn any ornaments, the cloth in which it is wrapped has the fringe cut off The story goes that this custom which was not observed at first arose as follows Once upon a time a dead child on its way to the Land of the Dead caught its fringe in a stile it had to cross and could not get it loose It cried all night and a man came with a torch to see what the trouble was The dead child was invisible to him but he saw the cloth caught in the stile With his dao he cut the cloth free from the fringe and left it there In the morning he went to look and found the fringe still caught in the stile but the rest of the cloth was nowhere to be seen So he knew that the child had gone safely on its way, and he spread the story of what had happened throughout the Ao country so that all have been careful ever since to wrap the bodies of babies in cloths with the fringe cut off

Christians invariably bury their dead Often there is a stone over the grave with the name of the departed and sometimes a cross roughly carved on it But they have

not entirely broken away from their fathers' customs. Their cemetery is almost always near the non-Christian cemetery and their graves are very often roofed over like corpse platforms. Frequently one sees the belongings of the deceased placed on the grave, usually a plain cloth and an old umbrella or some other product of higher culture, more rarely a full warrior's ornaments, such as the departed probably never wore after his conversion, for ornaments are looked upon with disfavour by Ao Baptists. These things are regarded more as decorations than anything else, I fancy, for religious pictures often take their place, when the supply of scriptural subjects runs out any picture will do, and I have seen a grave decorated with a picture, from an old copy of *The Sketch*, of a popular, not to say notorious, musical comedy actress.

Like all Nagas, the Aos regard certain forms of death as accursed (*menen* C and M) ¹ or in Naga-Assamese "apotia," ² and dread them accordingly. Any man dying "apotia" brings disgrace and ruin upon his family, however rich he may have been his name can never be recited with those of the mighty dead, and all his property has to be abandoned. Save under certain circumstances, a person who is killed by being mauled by a wild beast or by snake bite, or falling from a cliff or tree, or drowning, or burning, or in child birth is regarded as dying "apotia." In some villages if a man die of leprosy or other loathsome disease his body is treated as "apotia," but his property is not abandoned. Under certain circumstances these rigid rules are relaxed, broadly speaking a man who is killed while assisting his village against a common enemy is not regarded as wholly "apotia." His body is disposed of without ceremony, but his property is not abandoned. For instance, in 1921 Longmisa tried to ring a leopard. One of the men was bitten by a cobra, a snake which is pretty rare in the

¹ Not long ago the Ao Christians took to using *temenenpur* (accursed people) as a general term for their unconverted brethren. The latter naturally objected. The practice was stopped and the Christians told they must find some less offensive term for those who did not happen to worship as they did.—J. P. M.

² Q. *The Angami Nagas* glossary.—J. H. H.

Naga Hills luckily for the inhabitants, who have to travel with bare feet and legs along overgrown paths. He died within an hour, but his death was regarded as only half "apotia", his house was left to rot, but his belongings were not abandoned. The same action would have been taken had he been killed by the leopard that day. But if he had been killed by a leopard or snake while going about his own business, his death would have been fully "apotia". A sacrifice in due time will also prevent a death being "apotia". For instance, if a man is brought home badly mauled by a tiger, a fowl is hastily offered for his recovery. If he die after the sacrifice it will not be "apotia" at all. Or if a man fall from a tree and be not killed on the spot, a fowl is speedily sacrificed at the foot of the tree with the same effect.¹ The idea is, of course, that the responsibility for the man's death is shifted to the unsuccessful sacrifice. A house struck by lightning is *menen* and has to be abandoned. A flash of lightning gives no time to offer fowls. The only thing to do is to become a Christian. For instance, there was a man at Longchang whose house was struck by lightning on a Saturday and only slightly damaged. He did not want to abandon it, so next day he appeared in church and announced that he was a Christian. I am informed from a Christian source that it is by no means uncommon for a household which has lost a member by an "apotia" death to turn Christian on the spot and so avoid the loss of all their possessions.

The full procedure in the case of an "apotia" death is as follows. If the man be killed in the jungle his companions wrap the body in a cloth, and either bury it or put it on to a platform hastily made on the spot. Any relations present must be the first to touch it. All weapons and clothes carried by the party are thrown away, and before they enter the village they must walk through a fire lighted

¹ Among the Semas the death is not 'apotia' if the deceased have succeeded in taking food or drink after the accident but before dying. It is even enough to spit into his mouth before he die, so that he can be said to have done so (vide *The Sema Nagas* p. 262) though it seems just possible that the original idea of spitting into the dying mouth was to make it carry off something of the living and so free him from the fear of further infection.—J. H. H.

with a fire thong by a village priest. Before entering houses they must wash. If the man die in the house his clan priests lay out the corpse on a platform apart from the cemetery, with no roof or other provisions for the next world. It is just treated as much carrion. The household of the dead man, on receiving the fatal news, kill all their fowls, pigs and cattle not killed that day are just abandoned and allowed to run wild. The household remain indoors for several days eating all they can of the animals and fowls killed. On the sixth day they break all ornaments and utensils, slash all cloths, and throw away all money. In the morning before dawn a clan priest throws a stone at the house and the family come out and leave it and all their possessions for ever. Men wear a "lengta" and one cloth, women a skirt and one cloth. All, male and female, go in at the front of the "morung" and out at the back straight out of the village—the only occasion that of on which a woman may enter an Ao "morung". In the jungle close to the village they find a little hut built by a clan priest, containing old "lengtas", old cloths and other things given out of charity by members of the clan. They change into these and walk through the hut. The hut has a door at each end, six times. Then they go to a little house in the jungle, which has been built for them by the clan, and live there six days. Every day one of the clan send food for them by a clan priest, who puts it outside the door and goes away without speaking. After six days they move into another little house, nearer the village. By this time there is less danger of evil contagion and they can go out and about. They therefore set to work to build a house in the village proper, which they occupy as it is ready. They are now free from defilement, reduced to utter poverty and have to live on the charity of the clansmen and friends, which is never failing. All possessions of the dead man are simply abandoned and will be touched by no one, and nothing can be claimed from the debtors of the dead man. Nothing is paid to his creditors, the granary is cut off by a priest and the grain allowed to trickle on to the

for pigs and fowls to eat, the house site is abandoned for at least three or four years and even then cannot be occupied by any member of the "apotia" family, the crops are left to rot in the fields and that land must next be cultivated by someone who is not nearly related to the dead man, not a leaf may be taken from a thatchung palm or "pan" vine for three years, and then only after the sacrifice of a fowl. After an "apotia" death no woman in the village may spin and no man may have his hair cut for a certain time—till the full moon if the death took place during the waxing moon, or till the new moon if it occurred during the waning moon. Even then an old man must have his hair cut first and an old woman must spin first. Among the Mongsen the village has to be cleansed by the *Aobi* ceremony.¹

Those who are inclined to smile at the extreme care with which a Naga warrior looks after his own life on a raid often forget that to him death at the hands of an enemy, far from being the most glorious of all ends, is only slightly less shameful than an "apotia" death. A man whose head is taken brings shame upon his family and misery upon his own spirit, which is earth-bound till the victor dies and takes it as a slave to the next world.² Among the Aos the body of a man who was killed in war was brought home, not by relations, but by boys of the "morung," and laid on a corpse-platform without any ceremony and with only half the usual amount of provisions. His property, however, was not abandoned. Naga wars take place near home and the bodies of the dead are nearly always recovered. But at times this is impossible, and the Ao custom in such cases was to cut a log of the tree called *manglochiben* (C) or *mangkotungluchet* (M) and lay it wrapped up in cloths on the corpse platform as if it were the body. This tree is connected in some way with heads and warfare, it is the commonest species to be used as a head tree, and if wooden heads are required for a warrior's corpse platform they are always carved from this wood.³

¹ See p. 253, *supra*—J P M.

² See p. 223, *supra*—J P M.

³ I think the tree is *madar*—*Erythrina*, like the Angami *ket/o*, which serves the same purpose (vide *The Angami Nagas*, p. 191, 229). The Garos use the same tree in a similar way (1 *lay lair*, op cit., p. 109)—J H H.

It is only natural that such a terrible fate as an "apotia" death should sometimes cast its shadow on before. If a man have evil dreams and be told by a "medicine man" that they forebode an "apotia" death in his house, he must avert this calamity by performing a ceremony called by the Chongli *Leptok ao*, and by the Mongsen *Lepzok wa*—for the future foretold by dreams and omens is not an inevitable one, but one which can be altered if only the proper ceremonies are performed. The procedure is as follows. The sacrificer provides himself with a goat, dog or cock according to the advice of the "medicine man." Then he lights a fire with a fire thong or iron and quartz and makes "madhu." If anyone in the village die during the days on which the "madhu" is being prepared it must all be thrown away and a new lot made. When all is ready he summons the "medicine man" to his house, and, taking a thread from every cloth in the house, a hair from every head, six *am* leaves, three cane leaves and three bamboo leaves, makes them up into a parcel with *am* leaves. Then all have a meal, and the "medicine man" is paid his fee in advance and is given provisions to take away with him. He is also given a "dao," which he will use at the sacrifice. Then the "medicine man" and the sacrificer go off together to whatever place the omens have indicated, taking with them the goat (assuming that a goat is to be used), an old cloth and an old "dao" holder. On arrival the "medicine man" announces that they are going to get rid of all that was going to cause an "apotia" death. He then ties the parcel containing the threads, hairs etc round the goat's neck. The sacrificer rubs some of his saliva on to the goat with his finger, and spitting into its mouth, announces that it is now a substitute for him. He lays on the ground beside it the old cloth and "dao" holder, and turns and goes away at once. As the sacrificer turns the "medicine man" cuts the goat's head open and tells it to take away all evil with it. Both return straight to the "morung" speaking to no one on the way. Then they bathe, and the man for whom the sacrifice was performed must again go to the "morung" and fumigate himself over a new fire.

before he can re enter his house The house is strictly "genna" and can be visited by no one for six days

Worship of the Dead

It is only natural that the belief that a dead ancestor can grant to or withhold from his descendants the *aren*, or prosperity, which was his in life should have given rise to an incipient cult of the dead A description has already¹ been given of the way in which presents are sent through a "medicine man" to the departed in the next world Occasionally the Chongli will go further and a whole village will perform a ceremony called *Leptsung külam* to gain the favour of some great man with particularly powerful *aren* For instance, one year when the crops were bad Kulingmen performed the rite in honour of Yimtilabzak of Chuchu Yimlang a very wealthy man who had "adopted" Kulingmen during his lifetime More often members of a clan will do it for some ancestor of note Outside the village a bamboo framework is put up and on it are hung all the usual ornaments and symbols—mithun heads, human heads and so on—which are put in front of a great man's corpse platform A castrated pig and a cock are sacrificed in front and a prayer offered as follows "O father So and so, if you still have the love for us you had when you were alive, give not to others your rice *aren*, but give it all to us"

Both the Chongli and Mongsen make little offerings to the dead in the field house at harvest The Chongli pour a little "madhu" at the foot of each post and the Mongsen lay a little food and drink on the ground and ask the dead to take it away In addition to this, among the Mongsen, relations at harvest set up in front of each corpse platform a stick to which they tie little offerings of food and fermented rice, called *asür tsangliba* It is held by all very strongly that the abundance or failure of the crops depends largely on the favour of the dead

¹ See p. 239 *supra*—J P M

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

Luck stones

The most powerful type of magic stone,¹ called *awalung* (C and M), is not found nowadays, and no living man has one. The lucky possessors of such stones in the old days could attract to themselves anything they desired. One curious way of getting one was as follows. You first found the nest of a red vented bulbul. You then kept a careful watch till the eggs were hatched, and plucked the young birds as fast as their feathers grew. At last the mother bird, in desperation, brought an *awalung* and left it in the nest as a bribe. Thus you took away and permitted the long suffering nestlings to cover their nakedness. Sometimes again an *awalung* was found in a python. Some people say the reptile always kept the stone in its head, but most people think it was usually contained in the stomach. When a python was killed therefore, it was put on to a platform and a leaf cup was placed under the stomach to catch the stone when it dropped from the rotting flesh. How the man who placed the leaf cup in position knew what spot to choose under such a very long stomach is not related. The most powerful type of *awalung* was found on the top of Japvo, a peak in the Angami country. In return for the proper offering a "heaven bird" (*lotak waya*) would fly off and fetch one. The possessor of one of these was at once made so attractive to all women that he was a positive nuisance to the community.²

Ordinary luck stones (*arenlung* C and M) are common nowadays. They are small, roundish and black, with a smooth surface. A touch with the finger leaves a wet smear. Usually only "medicine men" know where they

¹ Cf. *The Angami Nagas* p. 408. *The Sema Nagas* p. 253 sq. and Grierson *Linguistic Survey of India* III ii 233 where in the Sema story of Visatha and Toswelhe the word *agi/a* is used for a love charm *agha* denoting a magic stone.—J. H. H.

² In the Angami village of Kigwema just below Japvo is a carved stone put up for one Hhoni of ancient time who kept such a love charm in his pipe. Even when old and quite bedridden a woman who picked up his pipe could not leave his side till he dismissed her.—J. H. H.

can be found, but occasionally ordinary people come across one in the jungle, and Yimtiwati of Longsa is said to have found one in the stomach of a mithan he sacrificed. When one is obtained an offering is made, and the finder waits to see if the stone brings him good or bad luck. In the latter case it is thrown away, but stones which bring good luck are kept in a little basket¹ in the granary². If only one is obtained it will soon find a mate, it is believed, in some mysterious way known only to itself, and there will be two in the basket where there was only one before. These two breed until there may be quite a large family. If neglected the stones will fly away, and some people say they have heard them whizzing through the air at night. To keep them happy an offering is made to them every year. Either an egg is cracked against the basket or a cock beheaded and the blood allowed to spurt over it. At the same time a prayer is offered that the rice may increase and the grains be as sand for multitude. No one but the owner may eat the cock and he is "genna" for six days. Nowadays a man will sometimes spread out what rupees he has and sprinkle them with blood in the same way.

Particularly dangerous stones are those called *kirunglung* (C and M)—"house burning stones"³. They are to be found below the surface of the ground in some villages, which as a result are always getting burnt down. Only a "medicine man" can locate such a stone and extract it, and he must be quick, for it can burrow almost as fast as a man can dig. When caught, water is poured on it and it is thrown into a stream. A few years ago Longmisa, which suffered from almost annual fires, called in a "medicine

¹ So in Fiji cachalot teeth are kept in such little baskets of their own sometimes with a pebble that is oiled from time to time (like a Naga luck stone) and called the mother of the whale's tooth. (Brewster *Hill Tribes of Fiji* p. 22 sq.) In Peru likewise the stones used as love charms seem to have been kept in little baskets of their own (Montesinos *Memorias Antiguas Historiales del Peru*, p. 86. Hakluyt Society, 1920) — J. H. H.

² Similarly among the Dusuns of Borneo curious shaped stones are placed with the unhusked rice to act as talismans (Evans, *Studies in Religion, Folk Lore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula* p. 31) — J. P. M.

³ For the story of the *kirunglung* at Akhoia see p. 246 *supra* — J. P. M.

man," who duly found and dealt with a *kirunglung*. The Christians of Chuchu Yimbang mocked, saying that the ceremony was both heathen and useless, and that while Longmisa would go on being burnt down their houses could never be burnt because they were Christians. Longmisa has not been burnt since, while Chuchu Yimbang was burnt to the ground in 1922, church, Christians' houses and all Longmisa did not fail to remind them of their boast.

Charms

The Ao knows nothing of love potions and never uses them, the necessity for such a commodity has probably never arisen. Nor does he ever wear lucky beads or amulets. If a child cries too much its mother hangs round its neck a little lump of the chrysalis of a gregarious caterpillar, called by the Chongli *cheprangtetsü* and by the Mongsen *cheprangtû* ("weeper's mother"). Other Ao charms are all, as far as I know, taken from the vegetable world. Ginger is a great protection against evil influences, and a man going on a journey usually carries a lump with him. If an Ao approaches a strange village or any place likely to be haunted by *tsungrem* he wears some protective leaf in his ear. A Government interpreter, for instance, who is sent to witness an oath always decorates himself in this way. The most effective is wild mint (*tsungrem sungsung* C, *changchang* M), which no evil spirit can abide. Indeed it is related that once a certain love sick swain, whose father would not let him marry the girl of his heart, could not die, even though he wanted to, till he began to go about without mint in his ear. The next best is a sprig of a very common jungle shrub with small narrow leaves called *miset* (C) or *muchet* (M). Aos on tour with me invariably pick a piece and put it in their ears when we get near a strange village. Another common charm of the same type is a plant like coarse grass, of which a handy supply is commonly grown near "morungs". A blade or two of this will prevent harm from the lightly spoken words of others.¹

¹ See p. 239, *supra* — J P M

Dreams.

Aos never seem to see ghosts, in the sense of phantasms of the dead apparent to persons in their waking state.¹ They say they only meet the dead in dreams, when the soul of the sleeper wanders abroad and meets with many strange adventures. Dreams are taken very seriously indeed, and more than once I have been disturbed at night in camp by a noise in the shelters occupied by Aos, to find that someone has started up from a nightmare² brought on by a hearty supper of pork, roused his friends, and got them to comfort him with much chatter. Some dreams are assigned to physical causes. For instance, that horrible dream in which one gets a sensation of falling is caused by an eyelash falling out and floating to the ground.³ It is commonly said in England that you never reach the bottom in this dream, and that if you did you would die. Curiously enough, Aos say they do reach the bottom, but very gently and without a bump. If you sleep with your legs crossed you get the nightmare in which you want to run away and your legs refuse to move. The dream in which you try to hit someone and your arm will only move very slowly, comes to you if you sleep with your head pillowed on your arm. In most dreams the sleeper's soul sees something symbolical of what is going to happen to him. To dream he is being sold as a slave portends the death of the dreamer, for his *tiya* is selling his celestial mithan-soul.⁴ The same fate is

¹ This piece of negative evidence appears to be not without interest in connection with the question of the objective existence of such phantasms. —J. P. M.

² I once had a whole camp of Semas—200 or more—stampeded by a dreamer of nightmares, and by a miracle only were we saved from appalling results, as the frightened men rushed down on the camp of my escort and inundated it. We all thought at first that it was a night attack, and how it was that fire was not opened on them I have never been able to understand. —J. H. H.

³ The Naga tribes further south, Lhotas, Semas, Angamis, all agree with the Thado Kuki in saying that this dream indicates the growth of the body. The Thado belief is also known in the British Isles, as it is the one I was taught in my youth. The Changs say that this dream indicates the falling out of a hair of the head, or that the soul of the dreamer is sitting about in an owl, Chang sorcerers, like those of Madagascar (Ellis, *Madagascar Revisited*, p. 121), not to mention Photis' mistresses in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, sometimes taking that form to fly in by night. —J. H. H.

⁴ See p. 224, *supra* —J. P. M.

indicated by a dream of going a long journey towards Wokha Hill or of falling into a ditch and being unable to get out. The death of a relation is foretold in many ways, a dream that one's front teeth fall out means that a near relation will die,¹ and one in which one's back teeth fall out that one will lose a distant relation, if the sleeper sees a mithan sacrifice outside his house it means that a *tiya* is killing the mithan soul of one of the household, if the sleeper's cow is seen being sold a *tiya* is selling the soul of his child, to dream that his cow has fallen into a ditch means that a child will die—and so on, dream cattle being real children. Many other dreams foretell by symbol the death of someone. A house being built in a dream means a corpse platform will be erected before long, a body of people going off to found a new village shows how friends will go off to a funeral,² to carry thatch or mats in a dream is unlucky—you will soon be carrying them for a funeral. On the other hand, to dream of carrying a heavy corpse means you will get a bumper crop. A vision of digging out a spring has the same significance. If rice straw is seen the rats will eat the crops, and if someone in a dream is seen handling hornbill feathers the ears will have no grain in them and will be as light as feathers. A man who sees a decorated cloth in a dream will have his crop damaged by red blight. The rarest and most feared dreams of all are those which foretell the coming end of the dreamer by "apoti" death, these are to dream that one is buried in a landslip, and to dream that the skies are falling on one. It is a happy omen for a man to dream he is having sexual intercourse with a woman not of his own phratry.³ The woman in the dream is really the *tsungrem* of whatever place he has been to the previous day, who is showing its favour to him. But for a man to dream of sexual intercourse with a woman of his own phratry means that he will

¹ Dr. Seligman tells me that this interpretation is also common to the Naga Hills and to the British Isles. The Tiado have it, and also the Chikima Angami and, if I remember aright the Sema.—J. H. H.

² So also in Ireland as an omen the Sema a concourse of strangers or of persons merry making portends a funeral.—J. H. H.

³ On the other hand any dream of sexual intercourse is regarded as a bad omen by the Angami.—J. H. H.

of the index finger of his right hand, he will soon use that knuckle to rub his eyes while he weeps for the death of a near relation. Death, too, is foretold if two jungle cats are heard calling to one another at night, and the cries of several species of birds are of ill omen. If a Malayan Wreathed Hornbill cross the path of a war party or a man going on a trading expedition it is a good omen, but if a Great Indian Hornbill fly across it bodes ill. It is lucky if White crested Laughing Thrushes are heard on the right, or if a snake crosses the path and goes downhill, but unlucky if the birds are heard on the left or the snake goes uphill. If a war party see a Scarlet Minivet there will be bloodshed on one side or the other. An animal of exceedingly ill omen is the Slow Loris¹. It is believed to lie in wait for hornbills in trees and catch them by the legs and eat them. That is why hornbills always look round so carefully before they settle down to feed. For the appearance of a loris a village must keep one day's *amung*. Luckily it is very rare in the Naga Hills. A very small species of deer (*metsi tsungnen* C, *aret metsi* M)² is believed to exist in the hills and to be seen occasionally. If a man be so unlucky as to meet one either he or one of his household will certainly die. A village must observe one day's *amung* if a house be damaged by wind, or a tree near the village be blown down.

Beliefs Regarding Animals, etc

Certain animals are believed to cause illness. For instance, a man who eats the head of an epileptic cow will suffer from epilepsy himself. Sores, it is said, are often caused by the skin coming in contact with the saliva of a python, the urine of an elephant or the droppings of a wild pig. The remedy is a poultice of the leaves of a jungle weed called by the Chongli *per moztu* and by the Mongsen *aper muli*. If a person tread in the wallow of a wild pig the skin of the soles of his feet will crack. He can cure them either by

¹ The Thado regard this animal as the priest of the gibbon (*Hylobates hooleck*) and a man who recognized the animal which is very rare indeed would not dream of harming it. A Thado once brought me a live specimen he had trapped, but he did not know what it was. If he had he would have let it go immediately.—J H H

² Perhaps the Mouse Deer. I have never seen one.—J P M

getting an old man to rub them with an egg, which he then throws away in the name of the pig or by dipping his feet in the blood of a muthan killed at a feast. In the latter case his house is "genna" for six days.

There is a tendency to avoid speaking directly of a tiger or leopard or of owning that one has killed one. If a man be killed by a tiger in the jungle it is merely announced that he has been devoured in the jungle, without specifying any animal, and if a man meets a tiger and kills it he will say when he gets home that he throw his spear at it and missed it.

Some amazing pieces of pseudo natural history are current. Water voles, it is believed, often turn into fish of the species called *azang*, and can with equal ease turn into voles again. A fish called *akhung* is believed to be bred from the seeds of the *ashu* bamboo. Leaf butterflies, of which wonderful examples are found in the Naga Hills are held to be the offspring of mixed marriages between leaves and butterflies. The pea fowl is called *Chubatuli* C and M ('Assam Raja's bird'). It is not found in the hills, but examples were seen and marvelled at when the Aos used to go down with presents to the Ahom king. It is believed to have lived in the sky originally and to have been called down to earth by the pipit (*lila* C and M), which spends the hot weather in the sky and the cold weather on earth.¹ Wild geese are believed occasionally to fly up to the sun and obtain some of its dung. Any goose which can do this comes down straight to the Brahmaputra with its precious burden and dips it in the water, all the fish anywhere near are at once poisoned and the geese assemble and feast on their bodies. Naturally the python has not failed to stir the imagination of the Ao. It is credited with miraculous powers of attraction.² Tradition relates that long ago one Kikamsangba of Aotang—an old site near the present Sema village of Japvum—cut off a python's head and put it up in front of his house. The result was that if any trader came to the village he was irresistibly compelled to come straight to Kikamsangba's house and offer his wares.

¹ The pipit is of course migratory and while absent in the hot weather is abundant in the cold.—J P M

² So the Burmese, who regard it as a *nat* and refrain from killing it, *vide* Sangermano *Burmese Eripire* XXI § 82.—J H H

kept must be held steady by some member of the household in every house, or the *aren* of the rice will be frightened and flee away ¹ After an earthquake one day's *amung* (*Phenok nokmung* C, *Pheningnokmung* M) must be observed. Nothing is known of the size of the sun (*anū* C, *tsungi* M) and the moon ² (*yita* C, *lata* M) and no one has any very clear idea of their nature. Nor is any particular sex assigned to them,³ though in prayers the moon is always mentioned first. The sun has a mother whose house it passes every day on its journey. She always calls out to it to come in for a little and rest, but it always replies that it will come in some other time, and hurries on. If it were to go in it would disappear from the sky altogether ⁴ An eclipse of

¹ Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 252, Mills *op cit.*, p. 172. Hodson, *The Menthers*, p. 111, McCulloch, *Statistical Account of Munnipore*, p. 3, Hadfield, *Natives of the Loyaltj Group*, pp. 48, 113. In all these cases the cause of earthquake is different, but the result is the same—short crops, doubtless due in each case to the fright and flight of *aren*.—J. H. H.

² Sometimes the moon is described as being as big as a field.—J. P. M. Similarly the Angami and Lhota sometimes state that the sun is as large as a field.—J. H. H.

³ This is the exception in Assam, where though opinions vary, the sun is often regarded as feminine and the moon masculine. This view is held by the Angami and the Sema Nagas, the Khasis (Hooker, *Himalayan Journals* II 278, Gurdon, *op cit.*, p. 172. Rafy, *Folk Tales of the Khasis*, p. 90), and the Daffas, whereas the Abors, the Miris and the Mishmis seem to make the sun male and the moon female, while the Akas speak of both as being male (communicated by Capt. G. A. Nevill). The discrepant statement in the *Census of India* 1921, Vol. III, Assam, pt. 1, App. B, p. x is due to some error in compilation, as it was prepared from papers now in my possession which clearly state that the Akas regard both as male. Outside Assam the idea of the moon as male and the sun female is widespread. It appears to have been held by some of the early Scandinavians (Kershaw, *Stories and Ballads of the Far Past*, pp. 25, 223 n.), the moon is masculine and the sun feminine in Western Germany, the moon is masculine in all Semitic languages (Frazer, *Pausanias Description of Greece*, II 129), the Oraons make the moon masculine (*Man in India*, I 303 Dec 1921), so do the Fijians (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality* I 67) and the Guayaro Indians (*Folk Lore*, XXV, 187). The Nagas of the Patkoi state that the sun and moon were originally sister and brother respectively. They quarrelled and the moon in a fit of temper burnt up everything on earth. A tree fell on him and he died, after which the sun died of grief for her brother, and eventually they were reborn with their sexes reversed (communicated by Mr. R. N. De). Here we have the idea of the interchange of functions between the two orbs noted below, as also in the case of the Eskimo, who make the sun smear with soot the face of her incestuously minded brother the moon (Feschel quoted by Skeat and Blagden, *op cit.*, II 293 n.).—J. H. H.

⁴ According to the Daffa the sun and moon are periodically eaten up by a monster named Tammui, because they insisted on passing through his house. Having built his house in the way, he asked the moon to deviate a little from his course so as not to damage it, but meeting with

the sun or moon occurs when a tiger tries to eat it¹ The village drums are beaten vigorously to drive the assailant away, for were the sun or moon to be eaten up tigers would increase and multiply on the earth and devour people whether they were fated to die "apotia" or not No method is known of causing the sun to slow down in its course One man once, who had a long way to go and wanted to get home before dark, asked the sun to wait for him It duly waited, but the man died, and no one has ever dared to repeat the experiment since² Virtue is supposed to exist in the morning sun, and I have heard it said that children are more numerous and men stronger at the east end of a village than at the west end, because the rising sun shines

no consideration he ate him up slowly, and the moon, passing through Tammui's body, continued on his course, which the sun followed, so that she too is periodically eaten up by Tammui likewise (notes from Capt G A Nevill) —J H H

¹ The Sema also regard eclipses as caused by a tiger, but this view seems the exception The eater of the orbs seems usually described as a dragon, a dog, a frog or a demon The dragon eats them according to one account of the Chinese belief (Tradescant Lay, *The Chinese as they are*, p 199), and so also the Siamese (La Loubère, *Du Royaume de Siam* I 523), the Subanos of the Philippine Islands (Sawyer, *Inhabitants of the Philippines*, p 359) and the Semang of the Malay Peninsula (Skeat and Blagden, *op cit*, II 203) The dog is the animal designated in Manchuria (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, I 460), by the Chinese (according to Kidd, *China*, p 301), the Kabui Nagas (Hodson *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p 129), the Lushai (Shakespeare, *Lushai Kuki Clans* p 184) and the Karens (Marshall, *op cit*, pp 231, 289) The frog is held responsible by the Kachins (Henson, *op cit*, p 119) and by the Khasi (Rafy, *Folk Tales of the Khasis*, p 7, where *u hynroh* may equally as well be translated 'frog' as 'toad'), and I have seen a Konyak carving in which a frog was represented as apparently eating the moon Elsewhere it is a spirit of some sort Some Lushai say the spirit of a former Chin chief causes the eclipse (personal information), the Dafia story has already been given, and the Mni and Aka also attribute it to a god or demon, as do the Hindus (Bernier, *Lettre à M Chapelain Touchant les Superstitions, etc, de l'Indoustan*), the Bosis and the Mantra of the Malay Peninsula (Skeat and Blagden, *op cit*, II 298, 319), and, apparently, some Polynesians (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, III 171), and so also the Negrito Sakai (Evans, *Religion, Folk Lore and Custom in N Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, p 208) The same idea must have been current in Greece and Italy, where an eclipse was greeted with the same clamour as is resorted to to frighten off the devouring demon in the east (Pliny *Nat Hist*, II xii, Livy, XXVI v 'cum aris crepitu, qualis in defectu lunæ silenti nocte fieri solet, clamorem edidisse') —J H H

² One is reminded of the Polynesian hero, Maui, who caught the sinking sun by its rays and tied it up to a tree till he had finished building a *marae*, which had to be completed before sunset (Ellis, *op cit*, III 170) Similarly the Angami erecting a monolith and a platform for it, must complete the work before the sun sinks (vide *J R A I* LII 249) —J H H

on them ¹ The marks on the moon's surface are sometimes said to be trees,² but more often they are regarded as the remains of mithan dung thrown at it by Noktangsang, who lived a very long time ago. As to why Noktangsang acted in this way, there are two versions. According to one story the sky used to be quite close to the earth. Noktangsang came out on to the platform at the back of his house one night carrying his little son. The boy wanted the moon to play with, and Noktangsang tried to poke it down for him with a long bamboo. But the moon edged further and further away, till Noktangsang in anger picked up some mithan dung and threw it at it. The other story resembles that told by the Lhotas ³ Formerly what is now the sun was the moon and the present moon the sun. In those days the heat of the sun was so terrible that everything was shrivelled up and men died. Noktangsang's mother was among those who were killed and, furious with grief, he hurled mithan dung at it and quenched its heat ⁴

¹ The Chang Nagas likewise believe in the virtue of the rising sun and of an eastern aspect, and cf. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 211 — J. H. H.

² So the Angami say that the marking on the moon's surface is a tree, likewise the Thado and so too the Polynesians (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, III 171) and the Maori who tell how a man named Rona went to fetch water by night the moon came down on him, and he climbed a tree in terror, which fell with him on to the moon where it can still be seen. Curiously enough, Scandinavian legend is also said to describe the markings on the moon as two children stolen by the moon when carrying a bucket of water between them (*The Statesman*, Sept. 12 1923). The idea of the tree in the moon seems to be present also in the Patkoi Naga legend already given (*vide supra*, note on p. 229) — J. H. H.

³ Cf. *The Lhotas Nagas*, p. 172 — J. P. M.

⁴ Evans (*Studies in Religion, Folk Lore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, p. 88) quotes a Dusun story which presents some curiously close parallels to Ao versions. In the Bornean tale the sky was so close to the earth once that the hero's wife was made ill by the heat. He thereupon shot with his blow gun and destroyed six of the seven suns then existing. The last sun drew away, taking the sky with it.

The Dyaks also say that the sky was once near the earth (Ling Roth *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, I 300) — J. P. M.

This interchange of functions between the sun and the moon the latter having been originally by far the hotter and having been cooled by having something thrown at it, either dung ashes or a hare is widespread. So the Angami, the Thado, the Sema, the Lhotas the Garos and the Khasis (*The Angami Nagas*, p. 411, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 250, Mills, *The Lhotas Nagas*, p. 172, Playfair *op cit*, p. 85, Hooker, *Gurdon loc cit*, Rafy, *op cit*, p. 90) also the Santals (Bompas *Folk Lore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 402 *seq.*). Sometimes the tale is very much garbled. According to the Dafia (*Census of India*, 1921, III *Assam*, Appendix B) the marks on

Stars (*petinu* C, *peti* M) are too small and remote to interest the Ao much, and none of the constellations seem to have names. Venus, when a morning star, is called *Atu nū tsul* (C) or *Atu mi tsul* (M) ("Atu taro-roasting") because, the story goes, a man called Atu used to get up and cook taro for his breakfast when this star rose. A star close to the moon is called *Lungja petinu* (C) or *Longcha peti* (M) and is said to be the soul of a mythical hero called Chang-pichanglangba.¹ The Milky Way is called *chunglam mezu sitangba* (C) or *tsunglam mezu tithangba* (M), meaning "Cold-weather rains-divider," because as it moves from north to south across the sky the earth comes under the cold half of the firmament, and as it moves back comes under the warm half again.² When the grain begins to ripen the cricket (*ongnal* C, *onghang* M) announces the

the moon are caused by a beating given him by his wife, the sun (p xi, Capt Nevill), according to the Miri, they are human dung thrown at the moon by another deity in the course of a public quarrel at a festival (p xvi, Mr G C Bardaloi), the version from the (?) Konyak Nagas of the Patkoi (vide supra, p 299 n²) entails a change of sex as well as a modification of function. In the Mishmi version the sun threw the moon into a pond, the mud of which still clings to her face, because he was angry at her persistent requests for a share of his heat (p vii T P M O Callaghan). This brings one nearer the Angami notion that an eclipse is caused by the orbs having to repay a loan of borrowed light (vide *The Angami Nagas*, p 411), a belief which also seems to have influenced the Munda idea of an eclipse (Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, p 489). Further afield the Nicobars have the story (*Indian Antiquary*, August, 1921), and the Malays (Ratzel *History of Mankind*, I 478) have a tradition which suggests it, as also the Micronesians of Yap (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, III, 204). The Igorot say much the same, as Lumawig turned one of the suns into a moon for the benefit of the human race (Jenks, *op cit*, p 216). The Ceylon version seems to be that Buddha threw a hare at the moon (*The Statesman*, loc cit), and in Mexico also a hare takes the place of dung or ashes in Assam, but with the Guarayo Indians it is ashes again (*Folk Lore*, XXV, 187). In Burma and Japan, too, a hare is associated with the moon. While the Yakimo, as noted above, make it soot, in Melanesia it is a yam mash that is thrown (Codrington, *op cit*, p 348), or hot leaves (Hadfield, *op cit*, p 232), and in the legend of Maui, who scorched the earth, there is perhaps an echo of the same theme in which case it may link up with the Mink legend of North America on the one hand and the Phæthon legend of ancient Greece on the other (St Johnston, *op cit*, p 52 sqq) — J. H. H.

¹ Vide p 327, *infra* — J. P. M.

² So too the Chang, who hail with joy its appearance in the zenith, as marking the end of the rains and the beginning of the cold weather, at their Pwang festival. Cf also *The Angami Nagas*, p 412. The Abor call it *digu-di-gu*, or "*aichi digu*," "the cold weather guide" (note from Mr C R C Cumming), the Miri "*dagun diyarishon*," "winter and summer boundary" (note from Mr G C Bardaloi), and the Lushai "*thlasik kong*," "the way of winter" (personal information), and at least one African tribe regards it in the same light — J. H. H.

coming of the welcome cold weather with its cry, during the rains many *tsungrem* are about, laughter and games are looked on with disfavour and no feasts of merit can be given. The cricket was originally a little orphan boy who was apparently rather badly bullied by his elder sister. One day while working in the fields she would not let him stop for a drink. So he slashed his cloth and put it on and turned into a cricket and said "You have treated me so badly that I have turned into a cricket. I shall call when the grain is ripening"¹. If you look carefully at a cricket you can still see the "dao" holder and torn cloth. Shooting stars are regarded as ordinary stars falling. There is no special term for them.

There once lived two friends, Aiyentangba and Manyentangba, who set out to fight the wind. But it was too strong for them and blew them up into the sky, where they are to this day. They often quarrel and fight, and the clash of their shields causes thunder² and the waving of them wind, while rain is the sweat dripping from their bodies. The wind caused by the shields of the fighters is an ordinary wind. A gale is caused by a *tsungrem*. To stop a storm an egg is offered to the spirit responsible on the side of the village from which the wind comes. Among the Mongsens this is done by the village priest, but the Chonghs employ some man who has the reputation of being successful at such a time—the germ of the professional weather controller. There is current an alternative explanation of rain to that given above. At the mouth of the Brahmaputra, where the world ends, there is said to be a huge rock called *Tsüsem lung* (C) or *Tsüchem lung* (M), which drinks up all the water which flows down the river, and throws it up into the sky, from whence it falls as rain.

¹ Taken with the loss of grain supposed to follow on earthquakes this story is a little suggestive of an Aka story given by Capt. Nevill (*loc. cit.*) in which earthquakes are caused by a cricket having burrowed into the earth down to the god Phumbadege and told him that all the people on the earth were dead and thus causing him to shake the earth to find out if it were true which causes the Aka to cry out "We are alive" when the earth quakes as too the Thado do (*vide The Sema Nagas* p. 252 n. 2). Cf. also *The Lhota Nagas* p. 172 n. 2, Hodson *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 128. Hanson *The Kachins* p. 119.—J. H. H.

² Cf. *The Sema Nagas* p. 25, and Hodson *Primitive Culture of India*, p. 49. The lightning is regarded as the flashing of a dao in the sky by Semas and by Manipuris.—J. H. H.

again.¹ Hail is caused by the sky-folk in the second sky above us, who hurl down great lumps of ice. These would injure men if they fell, so the sky-folk in the sky above us break them up so that they only reach the earth as hailstones. Rainbows are just accepted without any attempt at explanation and are in some way regarded as symbolical of wealth. A bamboo arc, representing a rainbow, is in many villages set up in front of the corpse-platform of a rich man. Nobody seems to know why.² The only explanation I have ever been given is that rain often follows an offering of rice flour to human heads and mithan skulls,³ a rainbow is also connected with rain and

¹ The form in which I heard this story from a Chang was that the great water (i.e. the Brahmaputra River, most Nagas can conceive only with difficulty of any greater water, though some, and the Chang among them, seem to retain some tradition of acquaintance with the sea) ran to the end of the world, where it struck a rock and ran upwards and back to its source. This story seems to be much the same as that given by McMahon of the Karens (*Karens of the Golden Chersonese*, p. 110), and he interprets it as referring to the Bay of Bengal on the strength of several arguments for which there is no space here. If I am right in ascribing the Ao, Chang and Karen versions to a common source, and if he is right in his interpretation, then we have another indication of a southern origin for one element, at any rate, of the Naga tribes, who would then be a northerly backwash from a stream of migration going eastwards from south India to the Pacific. On the other hand, I have sometimes wondered whether the Naga story be not merely a garbled account of the famous pool Brahmakund formed by the Lohit, the Mori pani and the Dog pani (= "god river"), from which the Brahmaputra issues on its way into the Assam Valley. For an account of this remarkable pool see Robinson's *Assam* (p. 9), quoted by Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam*, I, 295 and Griffith, *Israelis in Assam*, etc., p. 25 sqq.—J. H. H.

² Probably it is a symbol of the path by which the soul ascends to heaven. The rainbow is the bridge of the gods or of the spirits in many parts of the world. Iris, the messenger of the gods, used the rainbow as a path or was herself the Rainbow in classical mythology. Mr Henry Balfour has pointed out to me that in Teutonic mythology again the rainbow was the bridge of the gods into heaven (Stallybrass, *Grimm's Teutonic Mythology*, II 731 sq.). It was also the path of the dead (id., 733). The Sema call the rainbow *Kungum*: 'pukhu' and translated it to me as 'the Sky-spirit's leg,' but it could equally well mean 'the Sky-spirits' Bridge.' The Angami also say that the rainbow is the path used by a god, while the Thado call it a 'spirit rope.' The Andamanese also regard the rainbow as the bridge by which the spirits visit their friends on earth (Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*). In the Society Islands the Heavenly Twins descended from the sky to earth by the rainbow (Fräzer, *Belief in Immortality*, II 267 and cf. p. 209). Cf. also the Dusun story given by Evans (*Religion, Folk Lore and Custom in N. Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*). The Sakai Jakui of Pahang regard the rainbow as the path of disease, and, if they see one when on a journey, they stop and build a hut (Evans, *Journal of Malay States Museums*, IX, 272).—J. H. H.

³ Vide pp. 203, 259 *supra*.—J. P. M.

so, with the prosperity emanating from the trophies of war and sacrifice. It is very unlucky to point your finger at a rainbow. Some say it will go crooked if you do.¹ Lightning (*tsungyi* C; *tsungla* M) flashes when sky-folk strike trees with their stone celts (*tsungyipō* C; *tsungla ao* M). Sky-folk, for no apparent reason, mark certain trees, when they are saplings, in a way invisible to human eyes, and strike them when they get big. If a tree so marked be unwittingly used as a post for a house the house will be struck, and the whole of it, or at least the portion affected, must be abandoned and a pig or fowl sacrificed. Should any animal be killed by lightning it cannot be eaten. If a tree in cultivated land be struck the field must be purified with an offering, placed under the tree, of an egg, six pieces of chicken and six pieces of dried meat. If any portion of a struck tree be used as firewood the heads of all children in the house will become covered with sores. The remedy is to heat a celt, drop it in water and use the water as lotion. Even Christians, it may be mentioned, firmly believe in the efficacy of this treatment. Perversely enough, iron is regarded as a protection against lightning. Two reasons are given why celts are so frequently found in the fields. Some say that a timid tree, which trembles, is struck and split to the heart, and the celt enters it and is never seen again, but that if a tree stands up boldly the celt glances off and goes into the ground. Others say that a male sky-man strikes and keeps hold of his celt, but that a sky-woman is so frightened of the people on earth that she loses her head and leaves her weapon behind.

¹ Similarly the Dusuns believe that your finger will rot off if you point at a rainbow (I vana, *Studies in Religion, Folk Lore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, p. 15)—J. P. M.

The Karens have the same belief (Marshall, *The Karen People of Burma*, p. 228) and so have the Marshall Islanders of Micronesia (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, III, 98), while the Melanesians of the Loyalty Islands forbid children to point at the rainbow "lest they should cause the death of their mother" (Haddon, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, p. 113). The belief is widespread and seems to have much the same distribution as that which regards the rainbow as the spirits' bridge, with which it is probably associated. To point at the rainbow is forbidden in Bohemia (Frazer, *loc. cit.*), in Germany (Brunswick) and in China (Stallybrass, *op. cit.* II 732, 733) so among the Angami and Sema, at any rate, as well as the Ao, of Naga tribes, all with a similar penalty—J. H. H.

at the last moment. Or, again, some give an exactly opposite explanation and say that a very bold sky-man leaves his celt behind out of sheer bravado. In any case a celt striking the ground goes deep in and comes to the top again in seven years.¹

A snow field is, of course, something quite beyond the ken of the Ao, and though the snow peaks of the Himalayas are plainly visible from their country, they have no idea why they are white. They call them *sangpu ungr kong* (C and M)—"white-leaved tree range," for they can imagine no mountains which are not forest-clad. In this white land the animals are believed to be white too.

¹ Cf. *The Angami Nagas*, p. 403. When I once suggested to an Angami and a Thado, two of my most intelligent interpreters, that perhaps the stone celts found in their hills were the stone implements of their ancestors or predecessors, and not thunderbolts at all, I was met with the argument that "if it be not a celt which splits the tree when lightning strikes it, by what instrument is the tree split? If you can show us what it is that splits the tree other than these stones, then we will believe what you say, for certainly the celts look just like hoes. Meanwhile it is clear that something splits the trees, and until you can show us what does it, we must continue to believe that it is done by the stone axes which we find lying in the fields where trees have been struck, as we do not know of any other purpose they could have or of any other instrument by which the trees could have been split"—J. H. H.



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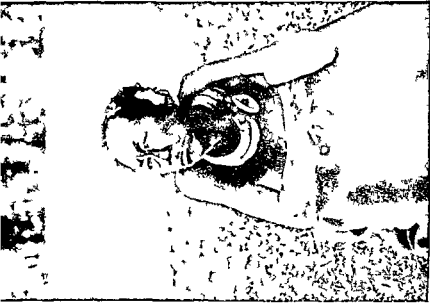


Photo rep s b j Dr Hutto

AND THAT IS THE END OF THE STORY



WOULD A I BELIEVE IT I MISSED IT!

PART V

FOLK TALES AND SONGS

Folk Tales.

ANOTHER generation and hardly a memory will remain of the stories and songs which the Aos have handed down from father to son for untold ages. What care the well-oiled youths of the Impur Mission Training School for the foolish traditions of their ignorant heathen forebears? To bury the past is the tendency of the semi-educated generation which is growing up. Christians never join in the old songs; they are definitely forbidden to do so, I believe. A number of Ao stories have been recorded by Mr. H. G. Dennehy, I.C.S., who acted as Subdivisional Officer in Mokokchung for a year, but the book is not used in Mission Schools. The past is being allowed to die. But the old men still tell the old stories. Besides many tales common to the tribe every village has a body of traditions which tell of the origin of clans, the doings of their ancestors from the time when they were settled at Chonglyimti to the present day, and the feats of great men of the past. These the old meh recite when the whole village is assembled at the great festivals. Many of them are little more than lists of the names of givers of feasts and the takers of heads of long ago. They are little scraps of unreliable history of purely local interest. Where necessary they have been used and referred to elsewhere in this book. Of wider interest are the tales current throughout the tribe. Many have been recorded as the Ao explanations of particular customs and beliefs, but there are some left which should find a place here.

Travellers' tales are not common, but one, the wide distribution of which is of peculiar interest, runs as follows:—

The Men with Noses Upside Down.

Somewhere there is a land where the people, who are cannibals, have such big ears that they use one at night as a mattress and the other as a covering¹

This is an ancient tale. Sir John Manleville (ch xxii), mentions 'folk that have great ears and long, that hang down to their knees,' copying presumably from Pliny (since he mentions horse-footed men in the same context), who says of the isles of Pontus *Panestorum aliae, in quibus nuda alioquin corpora praegrandes ipsorum aures tota contegant* (Nat. Hist., IV xxii). Later again (VII ii) he mentions others, apparently as an Indian race and on the authority of Artemidorus. *Et alibi cauda villosa homines nasci pernucialis eximiae, alios auribus totos tegi*. Pomponius Mela, though he puts them, like the Horse-footed Men, in the Orkney Islands, is more explicit. *Et Sannalos quibus magnae aures et ad ambiendum corpus omne patulae nudis alioquin pro teste sint* (De Chorographia, III 6). Strabo has the Ao version still more exactly, calling them *Ἐρωτοκόλται* (XV 711), explaining a little lower down *Ἐρωτοκόλτους δὲ ποδὴν τὰ ὦτα ἔχοντας, ὡς ἔχοντες δὲ λήγους δὲ ὦτα ἀναστὰν τέμπερα*. The Chinese have a legend of a tribe whose ears are so long that they have to carry them with their hands when walking to avoid tripping over the ends (Fieelde, *A Corner of Cathay*, p 137). Peter Heylyn (*Cosmographie*, p 860 3rd ed., 1665) mentions the legend contemptuously when writing of India.

It is perhaps worth observing that Pliny, in the same chapter as that last quoted from him, mentions a "cannibal" tribe *in quadam convalle magna Imat (i.e. Himalaya) montis* as called *Abarimon*, clearly the same as the Assamese *abārī manuh*, "independent man," applied not only to the Abor but to any hill tribe (*a bārī* = "independent," contrasted with *bārī* = "dependent"), and it is often found used by earlier writers of the Nagas of the inner and uncontrolled ranges (e.g. Owen, *Naga Tribes in Communication with Assam*, pp 24, 35. So, too, Capt Brodie, writing from Sibsagar to Capt Hannay at Jaipur in 1846, speaks of "inroads by Abor Nagas from the Burmese side," Capt Hannay having mentioned earlier a raid by a party of "Abor Nagas" on 'Changnooe village,' the Konyak Naga village of Sangnu near Wakehing). Pliny's association of these huge eared folk with people who are naked and tailed distinctly suggests an association between this legend and the Konyak Nagas, naked before and with a bark tail behind, and practising, to some extent, distension of the lobe of the ear.

Ralph Fitch mentions (1583-1591) people in Koch Bihar having "eares which be marvelous great of a span long, which they draw out in length by devises when they be yong," as well as similar tribes in Bhutan and Ceylon (Halduyt, *Principall Navigations*, &c.), and Terry (1616-19, Purchas, *His Pilgrims*) mentions others whose ears are distended so much as to take a plug the size of a saucer. Jean Struys mentions seeing in Formosa in 1650 women who have *oreilles fort longues, qu'elles ont grand soin d'entretenir et d'augmenter par la pesanteur de certaines grosses coquilles qui leur servent de pendans*. Cet ornement leur paroit si rare, que plus les fêtes sont solennelles, et les gens qu'elles voient, qualifiés plus elles allongent leurs oreilles, qui leur descendent en ce temps là jusqu'aux tetons, par les contrepoids qu'elles y mettent. And with these people again he associates quelques uns desquels ont des queues comme les bêtes (Glanius, *Voyages de Jean Struys*, ch x). Purchas (*His Pilgrimage*, V vii, 6, and xiv, 2) mentions similar cases of distension in other parts of India or Asia reported by different travellers in the seventeenth century. La Loubère (op. cit., I 101) says of the Siamese that they have *les oreilles plus grandes que les nôtres. et plus ils les ont grandes, plus ils les entrent*

Their noses are upside down, and when it rains they have to carry a "dao" across their foreheads to prevent the water running down their nostrils.¹

goût commun à tout l'Orient, comme il paroît par toutes les statues de porcelaine ou d'autre matière qui en viennent. Mais en cela il y a de la différence parmi les Orientaux car quelques uns élargissent leurs oreilles par le bas pour les allonger, sans les percer qu'autant qu'il faut pour y mettre des pendants. D'autres après les avoir percées agrandissent peu à peu le trou à force d'y mettre des bâtons plus gros les uns que les autres. et il arrive, surtout au Pais de Léos, qu'on passeroit presque le poing dans le trou, et que la base de l'oreille touche aux épaules. Les Siamois ont les oreilles un peu plus grandes que les nôtres, mais naturellement et sans artifice. Even so the Falaungs still regard large ears as a sign of goodness and wisdom (Milne, *op cit*, p 28).

Now a passage or two in Skeat and Blagden (*eg*, *op cit*, p 69) suggests that a small ear is associated with Negrito blood. If that be so, it would afford a reason for the distension or prolonging of the ear in areas in which Negrito races had become subordinate to some more powerful or more civilized people, say, of Mon Khmer affinities, which disliked a small ear as associated with an inferior race, just as curly hair appears to be disliked for that reason by all Naga tribes (see *The Lhota Nagas*, p xxii), and so too by the Karens of Burma (Marshall, *op cit*, p 18), though Jenks says that the long pendent ear among the Bontoc Igorot is not cultivated as an end in itself (*op cit*, p 187). When this long eared ruling race became itself subordinate to yet another invader, who did not affect ears a span long, the long ear would in its turn become a matter for reproach, and grotesque distension would continue to be practised only in the remoter and less accessible areas, where the older culture was able to survive. In this connection it is to be noted that St Johnston (*op cit*, ch xvii) finds three main types in the Pacific—Negrito aborigines, Melanesians, Polynesians. The Melanesians he identifies with the Dravidians of India, and with the "long ears" who were killed off at Easter Island. At any rate distension of the lobe of the ear is practised in the Solomons, and by the Melanesians of the Loyalty Islands (Hadfield, *op cit*, pp 36, 37) as distinct, apparently, from the Polynesians. Distension of the ear is common in Assam (*eg* the Garos, the Tangkhul, Sema and other Nagas, the Thado and other Kukis), it is found in Burma (*eg* the Karens—Marshall, *op cit*, p 46), and extends through the Malay Peninsula in places (Skeat and Blagden, *op cit*, I, 156, 159, II 39) to Borneo, where a passage in Hose and McDougall suggests that it may have been introduced by the Kayans (*op cit*, I 15). It is also found in the Philippines (Jenks, *loc cit*, Cole, *Wild Tribes of Davao District*, p 59 sq), and extends to South America (Whiffen, *op cit*, p 275, St Johnston, *op cit*, p 281).

The picturesque exaggeration of Strabo and of the Aes is shared by the Angami, who, it may be added, do not themselves distend the ear, though the lobe is pierced for ornaments.—J H H

¹ The Bila an of the Philippines say that the first two men created had noses upside down and were greatly inconvenienced by the rain running into them (Cole, *The Wild Tribes of the Davao District, Mindanao*, p 136)—J P M

These people are known to Chang and Sema tradition, though I have not found the story among the Angami, who do not seem to have it. The Kachin seem to have it (Hanson, *op cit*, p 157), associating these inverted nose people with the "one eyed," as does Strabo a "noseless" race (*ἀνύκρυπτος*, *loc cit*). Probably the story results from the observation of some extremely prognathous race with a flat nose and almost upturned nostrils (I have seen Garos of this type), and is a picturesque

Another story of strange folk is as follows :—

We have a tradition that in the mountains to the East there is a village where they eat human beings. It is said that once two Aos, father and son, went there. Now the practice of these cannibals is that when strangers come they entertain them and let them sleep in their houses. As soon as their guests are asleep they tie a thread round the ankle of the one they mean to kill, and later, at dead of night, when there is less danger of their waking, someone comes in and feels for the thread, and by the head of the man round whose ankle it is tied he puts a basket of enormous leeches. These come out of the basket and suck his blood, so that he dies without a sound. The Aos who visited the cannibal village knew this, and the father, when he found that a thread had been tied round the ankle of his son, took it off and at dead of night put it round the ankle of his sleeping host. The man who brought the leeches therefore felt for the thread and put them by the head of his fellow villager. So the host was killed and the two guests escaped.¹

Historical tales other than those purporting to relate the fortunes of some particular village are also uncommon. But the Mongsen have a story of the origin of the Nagas which is quite inconsistent with the tradition that the Aos emerged from the earth at Chongliyimti. There once lived, they say, two brothers. The elder used to go down to the

exaggeration, such as the familiar description of negroes in the *Arabian Nights* whose upper lip brushes the heavens while his feet trip over the lower—J. H. H.

¹ The Lhotas have an almost identical story in which the father takes the thread from the ankle of his son and puts it on that of his host. In the Lhota story, however, the practice of the cannibals is to feel for their victim just before dawn and murder him with "daos." It is to be noticed that the Rangpang Nagas, who practise, or until recently continued to practise, human sacrifice, kill their slave victims before dawn—J. P. M.

For other Naga accounts of cannibals see *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 96, 279, and *The Sema Nagas*, p. 96, cf. also Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 138. Nagas usually associate cannibals with tiger men and Amazons as living in adjacent villages somewhere to the east of them. It is curious to find Herodotus (IV. 102-110 sq.) associating, as adjoining nations, head-hunters, werewolves, cannibals and Amazons.—J. H. H.

fields and work, but the younger used to sit at home. Unknown to his brother the younger spent his time making "daos." A pig's food-trough held the water for tempering, and his tool was a wooden hammer. Every evening before the elder brother came home the younger used to turn the trough upside down and hide under it the results of his day's work. But one day the elder brother turned the pig's trough up and saw what was underneath. Then he abused the younger for wasting his time instead of joining in the work in the fields. After this quarrel they decided to part. The younger, who chose the plains as his inheritance, was the ancestor of the Assamese, and the elder, who went to the hills, the founder of the Naga race.¹ Before they parted they agreed that whichever, as they went their ways, should turn round and look at the other should pay tribute to him. The younger went off singing with a cloth wound round his head like a pugaree, and the elder turned and shouted to him: "A good journey to you, younger brother." That is why the Aos paid tribute to the Assam Raja.

The Chongli version is different. According to them there were once three brothers. Of these the eldest was the ancestor of the Aos, the middle of the Konyaks and other tribes now living to the East of the Dikhu, and the youngest of the Assamese. One night, when the two younger brothers were sleeping under one cloth and the elder alone under his cloth, the youngest got up and ran away with the cloth he was sharing. That is why Assamese have so many clothes and the Konyaks none.² The Aos have what they have always had, a man's proper costume. The two Naga-ancestor brothers eventually parted somewhere East of the Dikhu.

Naturally the habits of animals and birds have given rise to many stories. A few examples are as follows.

¹ The Angamis also have a story that the Nagas and plainmen are descended from two brothers Cf Hutton, *Angami Nagas*, p. 261.—J. P. M.

² For a similar Sema story of how the various tribes received their shares of cloth, *vide* Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 353 —J. P. M.

Why Wild Pig Eat the Crops

The tortoise and the elephant were once friends. But one day each claimed to be the elder. From this a quarrel arose and they were never friends again. The tortoise used to make the life of the elephant a burden to him. Whenever he stopped to feed, the tortoise would climb into the tree and drop on his head. Nothing the elephant could do hurt the tortoise. He even used to stamp him into the ground, but the tortoise always worked his way out after the elephant had gone. At last the elephant picked his little *mentor* up and threw him into a dense cane brake. This was terrible for the tortoise. Gingerly he put out a foot, only to get it badly pricked, carefully he put out his head, but a cane thorn made him draw it back in haste. He was helpless, and was nearly dead of starvation, when a herd of wild pig passed that way. The tortoise called them and promised them something very nice indeed if they would only let him out. They easily forced a way through the cane for him, and the tortoise faithfully fulfilled his promise. He took them through the jungle till they came to a place where it was all yellow and the light shone strongly through from above. It was a ripening rice field, of course. "Always look for places where the light shines through like this," said the tortoise, 'and feed there to your hearts content.' That is why wild pigs ravage the rice fields ¹.

Why Rats Eat the Rice

Once upon a time men did not know what rice was. One day a rat said to a man "I will give you a present if you will promise to give me a decent funeral when I am dead. The man agreed to this and the rat brought him a present of rice ² and showed him how good it

¹ I have this story recorded in Chang Naga as a Chang story —J H H

² Cf Hutton *The Angami Nagas* p 269. The Sea Dyaks say man first stole rice from a rat (Lang Roth *op cit*, I 301) —J P M

was to eat. A little later the rat decided to test the man's good faith. So he lay down on the bank of a stream and feigned dead. The man came along with his son, who saw the rat and pointed it out to his father. Instead of fulfilling his promise the man said "What is a dead rat? Poke a stick under it and push it into the stream." The rat, who was not really dead, of course, jumped up in anger and said: "In return and for your faithlessness I shall always eat your rice first and leave my droppings in it." Then it ran away and jumped into the Brahmaputra.¹

The Origin of the Catfish

Three women went one day to collect bamboo shoots in the jungle for pickle. On the way back one was swept away at a ford. The other two went to look for her and found the body caught in a fish trap a little lower down. It had half turned into a catfish. That is why catfish carry tattoo-marks to this day and are not eaten by women.²

Why the Crow is Black

In the beginning all birds looked the same—they were just birds. One day the Great Hornbill, their King, called them all and made them bathe and put on each his distinctive dress. The crow had a very beautiful costume, but he unfortunately fell into a pot of black dye, and has been black ever since. The Green Magpie perched on an after birth, which a man had disposed of according to custom, and pecked at it. That is why its feet and beak are red and it is³ unclean to eat.

¹ Another version states specifically that the rat brought rice from the Brahmaputra. Another kind of rice was first obtained by a man of the Aotang clan from the stomach of a mithan he had sacrificed—J P M.

A Karen legend gives it as obtained from the stomach of a dove (Marshall *Karen People of Burma* p 226)—J H H.

² Cf the Chang story of Molola, *Man in India*, II 103—J H H.

*The Sun and the Cock*¹

Once upon a time all men complained of the sun's heat. This made the sun very angry, for he did not like hearing his name bandied about from mouth to mouth. So one evening he set as usual and refused to return from the underworld in the morning. The earth was dark and all its inhabitants were in despair. Vain embassies from men, animals and birds asked the sun to return. But he would listen to none of them. At last they all beseeched the cock to go and see if he could persuade the sun to come and shed his light once more. The cock agreed to go, but reluctantly, for he was very afraid of being eaten by a jungle cat on his way to the underworld. He reached the sun's presence and tried to persuade him to return, saying 'You have six doors to come through as you rise every morning. As you open each I will crow, that all men may know you are coming.' But the sun hardened his heart and refused to come. At last the cock spake as follows: 'I have come so far to see you, you must at least promise me this. If I am attacked by a jungle cat on my way back I will crow and you must come to my rescue.' To this the sun agreed and the cock went on his way. When he had gone a short distance he crowed, though there was no jungle-cat anywhere near. True to his promise the sun came from the underworld to help him. That is why the sun rises every morning when the cock crows.²

Another class of story is concerned with the supposed derivations of the names of villages.

How Koio got its Name

The Lhota village of Koio on a spur of Wokha Hill was once inhabited by Aos, who called it Khuyu,

¹ Cf. Hutton *The Angami Nagas* p. 260. The Santals have the same story. Macphail *The Story of the Santal* p. 20—J I V.

² In the Thado legend the sun was recalled after the Tsimzing when the world was engulfed by a cataclysm of fire, flood and a great darkness by a white cock which, as far as I remember, danced on a flat stone—J II II.

meaning "load put down" It got its name as follows. Once upon a time there lived a man and his wife and an only daughter. The mother died and the father married again. Now the stepmother was very cruel to the girl, for she hated her. One day, when her husband was away trading, she made some very hot relish with chillies, and told her daughter not to touch it on any account, knowing that children always do exactly what they are told not to do. Leaving the girl in the house, the stepmother went out, saying she was going to fetch some rice from the granary. But she did not really go to the granary. Instead she stood outside the house and peeped through the bamboo wall to see what mischief the girl would be up to. Sure enough the inquisitive child dipped her finger into the relish and tasted it. In rushed her stepmother and screamed "Who is going to eat your leavings? You must finish it up now." And she made the poor girl eat up the whole of the fearfully hot relish. Nor would she give her any water. So the child died in terrible agony. After her death the mother killed a big pig for the funeral ceremonies, fearing her husband's wrath if she did not pay this public due. The cause of the girl's death she thought she could easily conceal from him.

On this day the man happened to be on his way home. By the side of the path, at the place where Koio village is now, he saw a basket and dish which he recognized as his daughter's, and a large dead pig which he knew by a white mark on the neck to be his. Wondering what this could mean, he hurried home, only to find his daughter dead. Then he knew that the basket and dish and pig had been left by his daughter's soul on her way to Wokha Hill. His wife was voluble in her explanations as to how she had done everything she could to save the child's life when she was seized with the sudden fatal illness. The man kept his thoughts to himself and pretended to believe her. The body was duly smoked and laid on the corpse

platform, and when it was all over the husband went into the jungle. Before leaving he told his wife to be certain to come and meet him on his way back with a drink of "madhu." She kept the appointment, but as her husband came near he turned into a huge snake and said: "I am going to devour you for killing my daughter." And that was the end of the wicked step-mother. Khuyu was so named because the girl's soul put her load down there.

The Story of Salunaru.

Once upon a time there were two lovers, Rangtsung and Salunaru. As often happens, they had a quarrel. They made it up, but Rangtsung never really forgave Salunaru in his heart, and plotted to kill her. One day he asked her to go down to a stream with him to gather bamboo shoots for pickling. On the way back they had to climb a slope so steep that Salunaru could not get up with her load. So Rangtsung told her to hold on to the loose ends of his "dao" belt and he would pull her up. She did as her faithless lover told her, and just as they were mounting the steepest part he suddenly cut the ends of the "dao" belt through, so that Salunaru went rolling down the cliff and was killed. He said nothing of what had happened when he got home to the village, and the girl's parents searched in vain for their lost daughter. At last, months afterwards, they found her bones all covered with fungus at the bottom of the cliff. Though they had no proof, they knew full well that Rangtsung, with whom she had gone that day to gather bamboo shoots, was responsible for her death. So they gathered some of the fungus and cooked it and gave it to him to eat. All unknowing he ate it, but his stomach swelled up enormously and he knew that his sin had found him out. Then he went and lay on his back in the "morung," with his huge belly sticking up into the air, and got the boys to jump backwards and forwards over him. While this was going on, a reed

fell from the roof of the "morung" and pierced his stomach, so that he died. The village of Salulamung is called after Salunaru, and there are Rangtsung and Salunaru to this day, two flat stones lying side by side. Once the villagers tried to dig them up, but a violent storm followed, and they have never been disturbed since.

There are many tales of a miscellaneous character, some of them with endless variations and of enormous length.

The Girl who had a Tree for her Lover

The Chongli tell this story. There was once a rich man who had a very beautiful daughter. Many men sought her in marriage, but she refused them all. Her heart was given to a youth whose face she had never seen. He used to come to her every night in her dormitory and go before dawn. In vain she looked for him among the bucks of the village in the day time. At last she told her parents what was happening. Her father was determined to find out who his daughter's lover was and kept watch at night outside the dormitory. When the youth left in the morning before dawn he followed him. Instead of going to the "morung," the youth went on straight through the gate and down towards the village spring. There a strange transformation took place. His arms turned into branches, his hair into leaves and his ear ornaments into berries, and, behold, instead of a man there was a big tree. The father determined to cut down this magic tree, and when it was fully light he told his daughter to remain indoors, and called all his relations and friends to help him. They cut and cut, but the tree would not fall. At last down it came with a crash. One chip flew far. It reached even to the girl's house and struck her through her eye to her brain as she was peeping through the wall. So the two lovers died together, and the father came back rejoicing, only to find that his daughter was no more.

The tree was a *sungwar* tree. This species is regarded as being of the Pongen phratry and no member of that phratry may sleep on a bed made of its wood.

The Story of Nokpoliba.

There once lived at Longmitang, a site, now vacant, near Changki, a man called Nokpoliba, who knew much magic. In those days there lived a merchant in the plains who was always cheating Nagas. They would bring down cotton and he would give them a cow in exchange. When they had taken the cow a little way it would turn into a wild dog and run away. For it was not really a cow, but the merchant's son, who could take any shape he wished at will. This went on for a long time and at last Nokpoliba determined to get the better of the rascally plainsman. So he gathered a basket of leaves, turned them into cotton by his magic art, and took them down to sell. As usual, he was paid a cow. But this time the Naga was not the only one who was cheated. For as soon as Nokpoliba left the shop the cotton turned into leaves again. At the same time the cow turned into a sambhur and went full speed for the jungle. Nokpoliba turned into a red dog and gave chase. To escape its pursuer the sambhur turned into three grains of rice. Not to be beaten, Nokpoliba not only turned into a dove, but ate up two of the three grains. But he was not quite quick enough to eat the last, and this turned into a hawk and killed the dove. So Nokpoliba died, but not in vain. For by eating two out of the three grains of rice he had so weakened the magic of the merchant and his son that they could no longer cheat Nagas.¹

¹ This story is similar to part of the interminable Thado story of Doikampu, the magician, who was ultimately put to sleep in a cave or hut in very much the same way that Merlin was. He had innumerable contests with another magician, the one turning into a grain of rice, the other into a bird to eat it, and so forth, like the warlocks in an English folk song, one of whom turns into a hare, the other into a greyhound to catch her, etc.—J H H.

The Story of Chinasangba and Itiven.

This is the great love-story of the Aos. There once lived at Mübongchoküt a Chongli youth called Chinasangba and a Mongsen girl called Itiven. They loved each other very dearly, but Itiven's parents forbade their marriage, for Chinasangba was very poor. Chinasangba used to sit on the big platform of the "morung" and watch Itiven go trooping down to the fields every morning with the other girls. Each day she gave him a signal. As she passed she would put her hand over her shoulder and steady her basket on her back. If she touched it with two fingers he knew that her parents were going down to the fields that day and that she would be watched. On those days he used to sit eating his heart out in the village. But if she steadied the basket with one finger it meant that she would be alone, and he would follow her down and they would go off into the jungle together. All over the hills they wandered and there is many a gully and ridge which enshrines some memory of them. On the top of the cliff near Chongliyimsen they would sit while Chinasangba played the flute, and you may still see the water-filled holes in the rock there where they dipped and freshened the flowers for their ears. So miserable were they because they could never marry that they longed to die. But even this consolation was denied them, for they wore such potent herbs in their ears that the evil spirits could not touch them. One day they came to a tree with a wonderfully sweet fruit. Of this they picked and ate, and there, under the tree, Itiven gave herself to her lover. But that day she had not put the protecting herbs in her ears and in a few days she was lying very ill in her parents' house. Chinasangba felt he would die if he did not have some communication with his beloved. So he got under the house and made a hole up through the floor between her bed and the wall. Thus he was able to hand up fruit and dainties for her to eat. Her parents suspected that she

same platform Some evil minded person placed a blade of thatching grass between the two bodies, and that night Itiven appeared to her father in a dream and told him that there was a great tree lying between her and her lover so that they could not meet¹ So her father made search and found and removed the blade of thatch Again someone laid a hollow bamboo full of water between the bodies As before, Itiven came to her father in a dream and this time told him that there was a wide river separating her from China sangba He found the bamboo and took it away and she never appeared in a dream again So all knew that the lovers were at last united and happy

If a man and a girl are determined to marry you may try to dissuade them if you will But forcibly to forbid them is both wrong and foolish

The Story of Aviachukla

Once upon a time a rich girl called Aviachukla and a poor girl were both in love with the same man He waited and watched to decide which he would marry Now Aviachukla was very cunning She and the poor girl and the man were of the same age group and used to work in the fields together For her midday meal Aviachukla used to eat only two or three grains of rice and drink as much water as she could scoop up in a bamboo leaf for she hoped to persuade the man that she would make a very economical wife But when she got home at night she used to eat an enormous meal in her own house The man suspected this and one evening he sat outside the house and peeped through the wall and watched her from beginning to end of her meal For every handful of rice she ate he picked up a handful of rice husks from the ground and put it in his cloth, and for every taro she ate he kept a stone as tally Later, when he was sitting with the two girls in their dormitory he opened his cloth and showing

¹ The idea here is clearly that the soul is a very tiny replica of the body a notion which frequently appears in the Naga Hills as it does among the Toradjas of the Celebes.—J H H

them what was in it asked them if they thought anyone in the world could eat so much at one meal. The rich girl said at once that such a thing was utterly impossible, but the poor girl said that she herself had such a hearty appetite that she thought she could manage that amount at one sitting. Then the man saw that Aviachukla was a liar and the poor girl truthful, and knew that he really loved the poor girl. So that night he slept with the poor girl. When they were both asleep Aviachukla took a brand from the dying fire and burnt off the poor girl's back hair. In the morning the poor girl woke up and was miserable at what had happened to her. But the man comforted her by saying that even with her burnt hair she was far more beautiful than all the other girls in the village for all their fine tresses. This only made Aviachukla more furiously jealous, and she lost no opportunity of persecuting her rival. If the poor girl stopped to wash on the way up from the fields Aviachukla would push her away from the stream and tell her that any female as repulsive as she was was only wasting her time by washing. At last Aviachukla composed an insulting song about her, and the poor girl was not clever enough to make up one in reply. So she told the man, and he made a song which utterly put Aviachukla to shame and stopped her mouth for ever. Then he married the poor girl and they lived happily ever afterwards.

The Story of Champichanglangba

There once lived at Nokpoyimchen a man named Champichanglangba who knew much magic. When his crops were ripening, wild pigs came and damaged his fields,¹ so he lay in wait for them and wounded one with his spear. Thus he tracked and tracked till he came to the house of the godling Lichaba, who keeps wild pigs as men keep tame pigs. Lichaba asked him if he was looking for a wounded pig by any chance.

¹ The earlier incidents of this story occur in the Lhota tale of 'Lichao and His Daughter' (*Lhota Nagas* p. 187) — J. P. M.

But Champichanglangba was afraid of Lichaba's wrath, and dared not own that he had wounded one of his pigs. So, seeing Lichaba's two daughters pounding rice, he lied and said that he had come to ask the hand of one of them in marriage. Lichaba agreed to give one, and Champichanglangba chose the younger of the two daughters and lived with his father-in-law and helped him.

Now Lichaba lived in a village and cultivated his fields just as men do. One day, he sent his son-in-law to give notice throughout the village that all were to come on the next day but one to clear the jungle for his next year's fields. Next day he sent Champichanglangba again to make sure that the people would come. This time Champichanglangba, without the knowledge of his father-in-law, reversed the message and said that Lichaba had changed his mind and that no one was wanted next day. When he got home he found that Lichaba was making arrangements for food for the labourers next day. Then Lichaba determined to test his son-in-law and told him to catch and tie up a big boar ready for killing on the morrow. Now the boar was a wild boar, and very fierce, and Lichaba only gave Champichanglangba a length of unsplit cane with which to tie it up. Somehow Champichanglangba managed to catch the boar but he could not split the cane while he was holding it. Luckily his wife was pounding rice at the time. She knew that her father was making trial of Champichanglangba and dared not help him openly. But she managed to pound and split one end of the cane, so that her husband was able to hold the boar with one hand and with his teeth and the other hand tear off strips of cane and tie the animal's legs together. Next morning Lichaba and Champichanglangba went down early to the place where the jungle was to be cleared, and laid out ready pork and "madhu" for the labourers, whom Lichaba expected to arrive every minute. But no one came, for of course Champichanglangba had given the wrong message.

After they had waited for a time he suggested to his father in law that he should go and sit comfortably at home, promising to see to everything if the men turned up later. Lichaba went, but, knowing that his son in law was up to some trick, he waited and watched at a spot from which he could see the jungle which was to have been cleared. And this is what he beheld, Champichanglangba sat quietly under a tree, but a noise arose as of many men chanting at their work and the jungle of itself fell in swaths before him, then he himself ate all the pork and drank up all the "madhu." On his return home Champichanglangba merely reported to his father in law that many labourers had come later and had finished the jungle clearing and consumed all the provisions. Lichaba marvelled, but kept his thoughts to himself.

A little later Lichaba and Champichanglangba went fishing together. On their way home they heard a bird calling "cluck, clucky, cluck, cluck, clucky, cluck" in the jungle. Champichanglangba asked his father-in-law if he understood what the bird was saying. When he said he did not, he explained that the bird was calling out "Take warning, all you birds. You must roost in the thickest jungle to night. There is going to be a terrible storm of wind and hail. Any birds roosting in exposed places will be killed." Sure enough there was a great storm that night, and Lichaba, after this further proof of his son in law's wonderful power and knowledge, decided that such a great wizard was best killed. So he set about the plotting of his death. When the time came to burn the fields Lichaba took Champichanglangba down and, giving him an unsharpened "dao" with no handle, told him to lop the top branches of a certain great tree which was all covered with prickly creeper. Champichanglangba climbed the tree, but he never touched the branches with his "dao"—they just fell off of themselves. Then Lichaba fired the jungle, hoping to burn his son in-law alive, and ran away out of the way of the flames.

But Champichanglangba, unseen by his father in law, took a prodigious leap right into the middle of a grove of wild plantains, where the flames could not touch him, and from there went back to the village by another path. Lichaba, who had been watching the fire from near, went over the burnt fields as soon as the flames had died down. At the foot of the tree he found the charred remains of the creeper, and rejoiced greatly, for he thought they were the bones of his son in law. Great was his astonishment when he came home to find Champichanglangba sitting quietly waiting for him in the house. Once again Lichaba tried to kill him. He killed a big pig and gave him pieces of the pork to eat, but in each piece he put a thorn. Champichanglangba ate heartily of the meat, but he was wily and collected the thorns in his cheek. When he had finished he spat them all out on a leaf before Lichaba, and mocked him, and said "Look, Lichaba. You cannot kill me, however hard you try." And the leaf into which he spat the thorns was a *lapuam* leaf. That is why you never find a *lapuam* leaf without little holes in it. After this Champichanglangba left Lichaba's house and went back to Nokpoyimchen.

One day with two strokes of his "dao" he cut out a length of sword bean creeper as thick as a man's body. This he kept in his house till it shrivelled up to the thickness of a man's leg. Then he threw it into the Tsurang stream, where it swelled up again to its original thickness and was carried down to the plains. An Assamese found it and brought it to the Raja, who saw that it had been severed with one stroke and marvelled that any man could have such strength. He enquired who the man could be, and all said the creeper had been carried down from the hills and must have been cut by Champichanglangba, whose fame had spread even to the plains. The Raja thereupon desired much to see this wonderful man, and sent for him. But Champichanglangba said he would only come if the Raja would have a *chabili* stuck in

the ground at every step from Nokpoyimchen to the palace. So greatly did the Raja desire to see him that he granted even this request, and Champichanglangba came down the whole way stepping from point to point of the *chabili* like a bird. The Raja thereupon asked to see the "dao" with which such a thick creeper had been cut. And Champichanglangba not only showed him the "dao" but again cut through the creeper at one stroke.

Then the Raja arranged a series of wagers between the Assamese and Champichanglangba. First he said, "We Assamese will eat before you, and I wager that when you see our food your mouth will water and you will spit. Then you shall eat before us and see if our mouths water." Then the Assamese ate all sorts of delicacies before Champichanglangba. And he sat and watched them, and his mouth did not water and he did not spit. Next came his turn, and all he ate was a single *tongmu* berry. But when the Assamese saw this their mouths all watered and they spat—for men's mouths always water when they see this berry. So Champichanglangba won that wager.

Next the Raja arranged that Champichanglangba and the Assamese should see which could build the strongest bridge. Then Champichanglangba made a bridge of thin sticks, but such magic did he put into it that however many men got on to it it did not break. But the Assamese bridge was a really strong one of bricks and mortar. Even so Champichanglangba managed to win his wager by guile. For he had in his bag a *pentsü* bird, a little bird which makes a cracking noise when it moves its wings. And Champichanglangba went alone on to the bridge. But the little bird fluttered in the bag and there was a cracking noise and all shouted that the bridge was breaking.

After this the Raja made yet a third wager. Champichanglangba was to see if he could eat all that the Assamese cooked, and the Assamese were to see if they could eat all he cooked. He cooked first, and for

pots he used two broken eggshells. In one he prepared a few grains of rice and in the other a little scrap of meat. But there was magic in the food, and try as they would the Assamese could not eat it all. Moreover they all had bad pains in the stomach. Then they cooked in turn, and not only did Champichanglangba eat up all the food they put before him, but he had no pains, and such was his magic power that if a dog or a fowl came near his excrement it dropped down dead.

* Time after time the Raja tested him, but Champichanglangba came through the trials. He danced on knives and was not hurt, he danced on needles and his feet were not pierced. Lastly the Raja made him dance on axes. Somehow in doing so Champichanglangba got a slight scratch, which bled much. And all the Assamese rushed up and smeared themselves with his blood. This caused their magic power to increase and his magic power to decrease. And in the strength of their new found courage they chased him to kill him. Then he turned into a lizard and ran up a rubber tree and hid in a folded leaf. With their bows and arrows the Assamese shot into the tree and they shot off every leaf but the one in which he was hiding. Then he turned into a cricket and flew to an *agar*¹ tree and hid in a crevice. And the Assamese hewed down the tree and split it up, but they could not find him. Yet he was hiding in one of the pieces all the time, and an old Assamese woman picked up this piece and took it home for firewood. When she put it on the fire it burst with a loud roar and Champichanglangba flew up to the sky and became that star near the moon which men call *longcha peti*. Yet he left some of his magic in the *agar* tree and that is why Assamese are always so eager to collect this wood.

Others say that Champichanglangba died in the

¹ *I.e. Aquilaria agallocha* better known as 'eagle wood,' and to ancient writers as *lignum aloes*. An oil obtained from this tree when in a diseased condition is very valuable for the manufacture of perfumes. The Konyaks use its white inner bark for tails.—J H H

ordinary way Before his end he said he would become a star in the sky and warned his friends that they must on no account open his corpse wrappings though they would hear many curious noises coming from inside Just as he had said when he died a new star appeared in front of the moon typifying the way in which Champichanglangba was always just a little ahead of Lichaba And so curious were the noises which came from his corpse wrappings that his friends disregarded his warning and opened them Inside they found many baskets of all kinds some finished, some half finished and some hardly begun That is why nowadays men have different degrees of skill in basket making Had Champichanglangba's relations not been so impatient all men would have been perfect basket-makers

Songs

Singing is an indispensable accompaniment of all Ao feasts and festivals Not only are the traditions of the past enshrined in their songs, but any notable event of the present day is similarly celebrated The language used both by Chongli and Mongsen in songs is a very obscure and artificial dialect of Mongsen The meaning is implied rather than clearly expressed, and verbs are often conspicuous by their absence An Ao song is a series of words, each pregnant with meaning, rather than grammatical sentences in the form of verse This makes translation extremely difficult, indeed it is impossible to produce an English version which gives a true idea of the excessively condensed original All I have been able to do is to expand one or two songs in an attempt to convey their meaning The tunes are monotonous chants and there is nothing in the way of scansion—the end of a line in my English versions merely indicating a pause in the Ao originals Yet the chanting is not displeasing to the ear, and the solemn singing at an Ao festival never fails to conjure up before my eyes a vision of changeless worship carried on from the dawn of things

A Song of War for Festivals

Sing of the men of the Langbang range
 When the might of the Atu kbel' of Yacham
 Was so great that no village of the Aos would fight them,
 The great Noksutongba was born, with the magic swiftness of a horse
 Ranging far ahead of the warriors of the village,
 Many a Yacham woman did he make a widow
 From the seed of the men whom the marvellous Tamnanungshu slew
 Young shoots grew up
 These in turn the famous Marishuba cut off in their prime,
 And when only a youth himself won all the ornaments of a warrior

A perfectly literal translation of the Ao original of the above would run as follows —

O we of the Langbang range,
 With Yacham Atu
 Villages not fighting fear
 Horse miraculous Noksutongba was born
 Outside the shields of the warriors
 Yacham husbands and wives separated
 Marvellous Tamnanungshu 'dao wound
 From shoots grew
 Famous Marishuba
 A youth full ornaments

A Song for Festivals

O sing of the mithan killed by Longrituba of Chongliymti
 Its price was three thousand *chabili*
 It was as huge as an elephant or wild buffalo
 No man of the Lungl am or Cham clans could pay the price
 Never shall the race of Longrituba perish
 O sing of the Azupongr clan,
 From Yutsu village they took countless heads

A Song of the Destruction of Kubok

O sing of Kubok which crowned the cliff
 We did not fear you on the day we destroyed you
 We drew on your wizards and slew them
 We tracked down the fugitives
Kubok which crowned the cliff could not withstand our might

A Festival Song of the Yimsungr Clan in Akhoia

O sing of the Mopungsangr generation,
 Each rich and a leader among men
 Outside the house of Tajongnokshu's father,
 Clustered thick as a crowd of men,
 Mark the posts proclaiming the glorious mithan feasts he has given
 Your wife of the Chamitsur clan is fair to look upon

Yimnatongbong from Miris and Aos
 Took heads single handed
 His daughter is as beautiful as a plumed "dao" handle
 On the day when she wears hornbill feathers in her hair
 No girl in the village can surpass her for beauty

Love-songs are often sung by young bucks in the girls' dormitories. The man sings one verse and the girl replies with another. The example given below relates, in very obscure language, how a flying squirrel fell in love with a bird. The man begins, in the character of the squirrel, and the girl sings the bird's part in reply.

The Squirrel Sings —

From far Lungkungehang
 All the long road to Chongliyumi
 Have I come to where my beloved sleeps
 I am handsome as a flower, and when I am with my beloved
 May dawn linger long below the world's edge

The Bird Replies —

Countless suitors come to the house where I sleep,
 But in this lover only, handsome as a flower,
 Do mine eyes behold the ideal of my heart
 Many came to the house where I sleep,
 But the joy of my eyes was not among them
 My lover is like the finest bead on the necks of all the men of all the
 world
 When my lover comes not to where I sleep
 Ugly and hateful to my eyes is my chamber

When villages or clans meet on great occasions it is a common practice for champions on either side to sing songs of mockery at one another. These are listened to with roars of delight by the audience. The insults are received in excellent part, provided they are traditional insults. So many times have they been hurled that they have lost their sharpness. But should anyone invent a song which strikes out on some new line of rudeness there is trouble. All Lungkam seethed one day in 1923 because one clan sang to another a song to which they had added one new line, which, truth to tell, was little more offensive than the others. In the example given here a Chantongia champion sings to the Yimsung clan in Yongyimsen, who in turn put up a man to reply.

The Chantongia Man Sings —

When men were going to their fields
 A hunting dog, looking for trouble,
 With ears erect wandered through the village
 You were foolish enough to rouse the dog sleeping by the house
 It chased you and bit your throat
 Oh how you put your tail between your legs !
 How you scurried away, looking back as you went !
 It is not with the whole Yimsungr clan,
 But with the seed of Molunglamba
 That I contend in song
 I will stop for no one
 You are like a bellyful of mustard leaves,
 When they are cooked they go to nothing
 Come, try your skill with me
 O Ningsangnungba, taker of ne'er a head,
 Not a word do you say worth hearing
 You chatter and jibber, and call it a speech.
 As light as dry leaves, that is the weight of your words

The Yongyimsen Man Replies —

Glory to brave Alumungba and Ashuba
 Born of old at Lungterok
 Their foes from Lishi they sent flying in wild rout
 They drove back on every side the warriors of Kabza who dared to
 challenge them
 Like a huge branching rubber tree were the two brothers,
 And under its shade the village dwelt in peace
 From the ripe berries that fell from the tree
 Sprang a race splendid as cock hornbills
 On the Langbangkong and Asukong ranges they dwell,
 The Yimsungr clan, priests of the Ao tribe
 With heads and muthan they perform due rites
 You who dare to contend with me in song
 Your mother gave birth to you on the village path
 No one holds you worth aught
 Look at him you fellows
 By the tradition of the Yimsungr clan I am priest
 Mine the race that built iron steps at Chonglyimti ¹
 From the spreading roots of the great tree
 I sprang up mighty in my village
 A priest of the tribe
 What man can fight with the mighty Kibulung rock ?

¹ This is nothing but a fanciful boast — J P M

PART VI

LANGUAGE

THE Ao language, which Sir George Grierson places in the central sub group of Naga languages,¹ is, apart from the differences in pronunciation found in various villages, divided into a number of distinct dialects, of which the chief are Chongli, Mongsen, Changki, Yacham and Longla. Formerly the Sangpur "khel" of Longsa spoke a dialect of their own but there is now no one alive who knows it. Of these dialects by far the most important are Chongli and Mongsen. Roughly speaking, the former is spoken on the Langbangkong and the latter on the Asukong, Changkilong and Chapvukong. But the areas merge into one another, and in many villages, such as Sangratsu, one "khel" speaks Chongli and the other Mongsen. Of the two, Mongsen appears to be the more closely allied to Lhota, which is placed by Sir George Grierson with Ao in the central sub group, and like it is dissyllabic, while Chongli tends to be monosyllabic ('stone' = *lung* C, *alung* M, 'dao' = *nok* C *anok* M). The Changki dialect is confined to the four villages of Changki Nancham, Chapvu and Satsekpa, and closely resembles Mongsen. Where Chongli and Mongsen use different roots for the same word, Changki usually follows Mongsen ('serow' = *shuu* C, *changsa* M, *changsa* Changki 'Moon' = *yita* C *lata* M, *lata* Changki). But occasionally it uses a word of its own ('star' = *petinu* C, *peti* M, *lametsak* Changki) 'Plainsman' = *Tsūmar* C and M, *Nokhar* Changki). It is a characteristic of the dialect that the Chongli and Mongsen termination in *r* denoting people becomes *ri* in Changki ('Sangtams' = *Sangtamr* C and M,

¹ *Linguistic Survey of India* III ii pp 284-297 — J P M

Sangtamri Changki) The Yacham dialect is spoken in the transfrontier villages of Yacham and Yong. These villages contain a large admixture of Phom and Konyak blood, and like Konyaks¹ their inhabitants substitute *l* for *r* in words² ('bone' = *terat* C and M, *telat* Yacham). The dialect resembles Chongli rather than Mongsen, but it has a number of words of its own ("burn" = *arung* C, *rung* M and Changli, *chik*³ Yacham), and is quite unintelligible to an Ao who does not happen to know it. What I have called the Longla dialect is spoken in Longla and Noksan, villages east of the Dikhu. These villages are bilingual, speaking both their own dialect of Ao and the language of their Chang overlords. They have Chang chiefs and follow Chang custom. The dialect, as one would expect, is closely allied to Chongli, but the letter *r* is usually replaced either by *l* or by *v* or *b* ('six' = *terok* C and M, *tulok* Longli. "Cane" = *arr* C and M, *aow* Longla). Briefly then Yacham and Longla may be described as subdialects of Chongli, and Changki as a subdialect of Mongsen. I have not, I regret, the knowledge requisite to describe them in detail—the first two are spoken only across the frontier, and the last by a small group of villages, the inhabitants of which invariably use Chongli or Mongsen when speaking to strangers.

Of the two main dialects Chongli is the dominant, and shows signs of gradually becoming the language of the tribe. Most Mongsen speaking individuals know Chongli, while comparatively few persons whose natural dialect is Chongli can speak or understand Mongsen⁴. The spread of the Chongli dialect has received great impetus from the work of the Mission. The first station was at Molungyimchen, a Chongli speaking village, and Chongli was thus

¹ A Konyak speaking Naga Assamese invariably says *lasta* for *rasta* (road) *länguli* for *ränguli* (girl) and so on. Chinese have the same habit.—J P M

² Some villages on the Langbanglong have the Assamese trick of substituting *h* for *s* particularly Mongsenyimti. The same peculiarity obtains in the Pacific tide Brewster *Hill Tribes of Fijis* pp 79 and 252, St John stone *Islanders of the Pacific* pp 263 268.—J H H

³ *Chik* is the Chang word for burn also.—J H H

⁴ Save the form of Mongsen used in songs.—J P M

naturally the language learnt by the missionaries. All translation has been done in it and it is used for all Mission work. The result of this is that few Aos can express themselves on Christian subjects in the Mongsen dialect. A Mongsen speaking pastor, probably, ordinarily thinks in Chongli when he thinks about his religion, certainly he almost always uses that dialect even when preaching to a Mongsen-speaking congregation. When inspecting schools in Mongsen-speaking villages I have more than once got the boys to read a portion of the Bible and shut their books, and I have then asked them to tell me what they have been reading. They will repeat it almost word for word fluently enough in Chongli, but when a request is made to explain it in their own dialect the invariable answer is that "it cannot be done, it is written in Chongli and can only be explained in Chongli." One wonders how much of what they read they really understand. When I had to decide which of the two dialects I would attempt to learn something of, I selected Mongsen for two reasons. The first and chief reason was that no European had hitherto studied it or attempted to reduce it to writing. The second reason was that it appeared to be in a sense an older dialect, just as its speakers, in my opinion, represent a pre Chongli wave of migration. It is to be noted that even in songs current among the Chongli the dialect is poetical Mongsen, and that in Chongli folk tales animals speak in Mongsen.

The Chongli dialect has been fully described. Dr Clark's dictionary ¹ is a most valuable and scholarly work, which reflects the intimate knowledge of the language which its writer possessed. A full account of the grammar has been given by Mrs Clark ². Below I have attempted to give an outline grammar of the Mongsen dialect.

Alphabet

Vowels

A long as in "father"

A short as u in "but"

E long as a in "pay"

¹ E W Clark *Ao Naga Dictionary*—J P M

² Mrs E W Clark, *Ao Naga Grammar*—J P M

E short as *e* in " then "

I long as in " machine "

I short, a little longer than the *i* in " sin "

O long as in " bone "

O short as in French, " dot "

U long as *oo* in " fool "

U short as in " pull "

U as *u* in " urn "

I have, at the first mention of a word, marked syllables which are strongly long or short. There are no diphthongs. When two vowels occur together their separate sounds can be distinguished, though very faintly sometimes.

Consonants

B as in English

C never used alone

Ch represents a sound between *ch* in " church " and *ts* in " outset "

D as in English

F as in English

G never used alone. When it follows *n* it is pronounced, not as in " finger," but as in " singer," with a slight nasal sound, however.

H as in English. It aspirates the consonant with which it is combined.

J as in English

K as in English

Kh as in " work-house "

L as in English

M as in English

N as in English. A final *n* is often slightly nasal.

P as in English

Ph as in " uphold," not as *f*

Q not used

R as in English

T as in English

Th as in " priest-hood "

V as in English. A final *v* is so faint as to be almost inaudible.

W as in English

X not used

Y as in "year"

Z as in "zebra" In many words *y* and *z* are interchangeable For instance, some villages say *yāni* for "the day after to morrow," and others *zāni* ¹

In places where Chongli words have been used my spelling will often be found to differ from that given in Dr Clark's dictionary This is due to the fact that I have attempted to give the words as pronounced on the Langbangkong, whereas his work is based on the dialect spoken in Molungyimsen In Mongsen words I have adopted as a standard the pronunciation current in Longchang

The Article

For the indefinite article the suffix *ā* is used.

Kū li anōk a khūng

me-to "dao" a give

This indefinite article can in turn take suffixes

Ninā ami ā thanglo saogo

I man a to said

There is no true definite article Sometimes the suffix *tsū* = "this" or "that" is used

Pānā ami-tsū ungogō

He man the saw

Or the suffix *lā* can be used

I-lī tēchēn-lā

My-house old the (i.e. "that old house of mine")

Really *la* is an emphatic suffix (*lukula* = "now indeed")

Usually the definite article is omitted altogether

Ninā yīmāng ūngō mokokr

I (the) path see cannot

Nouns

Gender

The gender of inanimate objects is not distinguished For persons *abāngchāngr* = "male," and *ānūti* = female

¹ The Thados do exactly the same, only more so as a given individual will interchange *y* and *z* in the same word on different occasions —J H H

(e g *ānū ābāngchāngr* = "son," *ānū ānūti* = "daughter")
 For almost all animals and birds *tebong* = "male," and
tetsū = "female" (e g *atsū tebong* = "bull mithan," and
atsū tetsū = "cow-mithan", *ān tebong* = "cock," *an
 tetsū* = "hen" But the following words are exceptions —

māsū bongtsa = "bull" (of ordinary cattle)

māsū tsūla = "cow" (of ordinary cattle)

aok tela = "boar" (of domestic pig)

aok tin = "sow" (of domestic pig)

pongi tela = wild boar

pongi tin = wild sow

tenām wabong = cock hornbill

tenam watsūla = hen hornbill

Number

Ordinarily no suffix is used to indicate the plural

Mēnāngpen amī a rūogo, tūshyingko amī asām

First man one came, later men three

thūngōgō

arrived

But there seems to be an obsolete plural suffix *lā*, now only found in the pronouns *ikhala, ilā* = "we," *nāngkhālā, nīngkhalā* = "you," *tōngkhālā* = "they," *ichāla* = "some," *kuoyalā* = "all who," and with *amī* in such expressions as *amīlānā sūr* = "men say" In discussing the plural mention should be made of a common termination in *r*, indicating membership of a race, class or body, e g *sāmenr* = "village councillor," *Sangtamr* = "a Sangtam," *Tsūmar* = "a plainsman" (plains customs " would be *tsūma yimcha*), *Ungmanūngr* = "a dweller in Ungma" This is not a plural termination ("one councillor" = *sāmenr a*), but there is a use of *nungr* with a personal name which has a plural force, e g *Lentinungr waochokogo* = "Lenti and his men have gone away"

There is a dual termination in *et*, which is only used with personal pronouns, *inet* = "we two," *nanget* = "you two," *pānet* or *tonget* = "they two" Thus

Tonget wao

They two went

But this dual form is by no means always used, and a

man speaking loosely without emphasis on the fact that only two persons went would very likely say *tongkhala wao* for "they two went." Nor is a dual pronoun usually inserted after two nouns. "Lenti and his wife went" would ordinarily be *Lentiba atür pa tünü wao*, though a man speaking with scrupulous accuracy might say *Lentiba atür pa tünü tonget wao*. Pronouns are the only parts of speech which have a dual form.

Case.

There are no case terminations in Mongsen, various suffixes being used for this purpose. These are added to the noun, its adjective or its article, whichever comes last. Thus *Sahibli* = "to the Sahib"; *Sahib tēsēnli* = "to the new Sahib", *Sahib tēsēn āli* = "to a new Sahib."

Na = "by" (of an agent), "with" (of an instrument), "from" and "to," and is always added to the subject of a transitive verb.

The explanation of this is that Mongsen verbs have no mood.

Pā-nā āmi ā lēpsētōgō.

He man a killed.

Such is the usual translation, but the sentence could equally well be rendered "by him a man was killed" Probably the nearest approach in English to an accurate rendering would be "By him there was a man killing." So with an intransitive verb, *Pa rao* = "there was his coming" i.e. "he came."

The accusative and genitive are indicated only by position. The object follows the subject of a clause.

Lentiba¹ -na āzū yūngr.

Lenti drinks madhu.

The thing possessed follows the possession.

Lentiba 'nok.

Lenti's "dao."

¹ *Ba*, meaning something very like "Mr," is ordinarily added to a man's name when speaking of him —J. P. M

So in Thado *Pa* is used for the same purpose, only it is prefixed instead of suffixed. Animals in Thado stories are designated by *Pa* followed by the Thado word for the animal, who is thus personified by the prefix, as in the case of "Brer Rabbit."—J. H. H.

Li is the suffix for the dative

Ni-na pa li aoh a lhiogo
I him to pig a gave

There are numerous other suffixes, used where in English we employ prepositions

The chief are —

-*lo* = "to," "at" This is combined with other words to form various suffixes

-*shuyingko* = "behind," "after"

-*malo* = "outside"

-*tetsunglo* = "inside"

-*tümālo* = "above"

-*tūkiko* = "by the side of"

-*rūnglo* = "among"

-*thāngko* = "to" (used with verbs of speech)

-*men* = "under"

-*tēn* = "together with"

-*atāmū* = "for," "on behalf of"

-*yung* = "for" (of price)

-*yenthāng* = "concerning"

-*phening* = "from"

-*tūshi* = "till"

-*ni* = "in" (of periods of time)

-*mūkheta* = "round about"

-*tesū* = "as far as"

-*tsungtha* = "between"

-*entāng* = "for," "because of"

Prefixes

The majority of Mongsen substantives and adjectives begin with the syllable *tū*, *te*, or *ta* (e.g. *tūmulūng* = "heart", *tūmyāng* = "sweet", *techang* = "leg", *techem* = "fresh", *tamaro* = "bad"), euphony alone indicating which vowel should be used. This prefix is always dropped when a possessive pronoun of the first or second person or a negative is prefixed to the word to which it belongs (e.g. *kūmulūng* = "my heart", *mūmyāng* = "not sweet") In other

cases it is retained or discarded according to the taste of the speaker (*e g patūmulung* or *pamulung* = "his heart", *yia tamaro* or *yia maro* = "very bad")

Many monosyllabic roots are made into dissyllabic words by the addition of a prefix *ā*. The roots are usually those of words which are found very widely distributed in Naga languages (*e g aki* = 'house,' *alung* = 'stone,' *amī* = "man," *atsu* = "water," *alu* = 'field,' and many others). In this Mongsen resembles Lhota and differs from Chongli, which abounds in monosyllables. This initial *a* is dropped if the root is combined with another word (*e g palu* = "his field," *limako* = "outside the house"), and after a vowel (*e g muli 'ki* = "medicine house," *i e hospital*)

Adjectives

Adjectives, except those indicating race, follow the substantives they qualify

Asū tesen

Cloth new

Adjectives indicating race precede their substantives

Moya 'yim

Sema village

When a substantive is used as an adjective it precedes the substantive it qualifies

Atsū 'ya

Mithan calf

The comparative is expressed by placing *thāngla* or *ten* after the thing with which comparison is made

Lentiba Lanuba ^{*-thāngla*} *telāng*
ten

Lenti Lanu—than (is) tall (i e *Lenti* is taller than *Lanu*)

The superlative is expressed by adding the suffix *rūnglō* to the noun

Ali-runglō ibātsū taroba

Houses among this one good one (i e This is the best of the houses)

The specific "one" is expressed by adding *tsü* or *ba* to the adjective

Nangna chüba 'sü liogo? Nina tarotsü liogo
 You which cloth bought? I the good one bought
Shüba Sahib? Tesenba
 Which Sahib? The new one

This use of *ba* is very common with verbal roots and will be noticed again later

"So" (comparative) is expressed by *ita* before the adjective

Ita täläng
 So cheap

"How?" is expressed by *kopiya* before the adjective

Kopiya teläng?
 How long?

"As as" is expressed either by *piya* alone, or by "*kopiya pāpiya*"

Ku khēt piya telanga
 My arm as long (as)

Alı kopiya telānga lao papiya teten lao
 House as long is so broad is

(i.e. The house is as broad as it is long)

"Very" is expressed by *yia*, *ıya* or by doubling the adjective (e.g. "very good" = *yia taro*, or *ıya taro*, or *taro taro*)

Adjectives expressing an active quality which has some definite effect on the speaker are often given a verbal form by the substitution of the termination *r* for the prefix *tü*. In other words, either a verb or an adjective can be formed from the same root

Atsü tūmülung anı rang
 Water cold bringing come

Āsakyim lo atsü müküngr

Winter- in water is cold (i.e. to the hands)

Adjectives which express what might be called a passive quality do not undergo this change

Pa sü tūmesüng lao
 His cloth white is

Numerals

Cardinals

The Mongsen cardinals are given below, with those of the Chongli, Changki, Longla and Yacham dialects for comparison

Mongsen	Chongli	Changki	Longla	Yacham
1 <i>ākhā</i>	<i>ākhā</i>	<i>ākhāt</i>	<i>lāh</i>	<i>lāhāt</i>
2 <i>ānēl</i>	<i>ānā</i>	<i>ānēt</i>	<i>ānē</i>	<i>ānēl</i>
3 <i>āśdm</i>	<i>āśhām</i>	<i>āśdm</i>	<i>ā śm</i>	<i>āśdm</i>
4 <i>phāli</i>	<i>phā.ā</i>	<i>phāli</i>	<i>phā.ā</i>	<i>phāle</i>
5 <i>phāngd</i>	<i>pōngd</i>	<i>phāngd</i>	<i>pōngd</i>	<i>pōngd</i>
6 <i>terōl</i>	<i>terōl</i>	<i>terōl</i>	<i>terōl</i>	<i>terōl</i>
7 <i>tenī</i>	<i>tenēt</i>	<i>tenī</i>	<i>tūnē</i>	<i>tenyēt</i>
8 <i>tēt</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>te.ēt</i>	<i>tū.ēt</i>	<i>tesēt</i>
9 <i>tūkū</i>	<i>tōkū</i>	<i>tōkū</i>	<i>tīkū</i>	<i>tōkū</i>
10 <i>terā</i>	<i>tūr</i>	<i>terā</i>	<i>tūro</i>	<i>tūlo</i>
11 <i>terā ālāhāt</i>	<i>tūrā lha</i>	<i>terdrī ālāhāt</i>	<i>tūro lāh</i>	<i>tūlo lāhāt</i>
12 <i>terā ānēt</i>	<i>tūr ānā</i>	<i>terdrī ānēt</i>	<i>tūro ānē</i>	<i>tūlo ānēt</i>
13 <i>terā āśdm</i>	<i>tūr āśhām</i>	<i>terdrī āśdm</i>	<i>tū ro āśdm</i>	<i>tūlo āśdm</i>
14 <i>terā phāli</i>	<i>tūrā phā ā</i>	<i>terdrī phāli</i>	<i>tūro phā ā</i>	<i>tūlo phāle</i>
15 <i>terā phāngd</i>	<i>tūrā pōngd</i>	<i>terdrī phāngd</i>	<i>tūro pōngd</i>	<i>tūlo phāngd</i>
16 <i>mākū mūpen</i>	<i>metsū maven</i>	<i>mākū mūpen</i>	<i>metsū maven</i>	<i>tūlo tūlōt</i>
17 <i>mākū mūpen</i>	<i>metsū maven</i>	<i>mākū mūpen</i>	<i>metsū maven</i>	<i>tūlo tenyēt</i>
18 <i>mākū mūpen</i>	<i>metsū maven</i>	<i>mākū mūpen</i>	<i>metsū maven</i>	<i>tūlo tesēt</i>
19 <i>mākū mūpen</i>	<i>metsū maven</i>	<i>mākū mūpen</i>	<i>metsū maven</i>	<i>tūlo tētāh</i>
20 <i>mākū</i>	<i>metsū</i>	<i>mākū</i>	<i>metsū</i>	<i>tāmōng lāhāt</i>
30 <i>ādmrd</i>	<i>ādhmrā</i>	<i>ādmrd</i>	<i>ādmro</i>	<i>tāmōng lāhāt</i>
40 <i>līrd</i>	<i>līr</i>	<i>līrd</i>	<i>līru</i>	<i>tūli tūlo</i>
50 <i>tūndm</i>	<i>tūndm</i>	<i>tūndm</i>	<i>tūndm</i>	<i>tāmōng ānēt</i>
60 <i>rōlīrd</i>	<i>rōlīrd</i>	<i>rōlīrd</i>	<i>rōlīrd</i>	<i>tāmōng ānēt</i>
70 <i>nīrd</i>	<i>tūndm</i>	<i>nīrd</i>	<i>nīru</i>	<i>tūli tūlo</i>
80 <i>lī ra ānēlī</i>	<i>lī r ānēsū</i>	<i>lī ra ānēlī</i>	<i>ānēng phā</i>	<i>tāmōng āśdm</i>
90 <i>tēlang tōkū</i>	<i>tēlang tōkū</i>	<i>tūrd</i>	<i>tīru</i>	<i>tāmōng āśdm</i>
100 <i>nōlīng ā</i>	<i>nōlīng lāh</i>	<i>tīlīng ā</i>	<i>tūlīng lāh</i>	<i>āśdm tūli</i>
1000 <i>mīyārdēngd</i>	<i>mīyārdēngd</i>	<i>mē ā</i>	<i>tēlang tūro</i>	<i>tūlo</i>

¹ Yacham clearly reckons in scores like the Changs, but with this difference that ten is added on to the previous multiple of twenty for the intermediate half scores, whereas the Changs reckon back from the score ahead so that fifty for instance is not "two score and ten" as in Yacham but the ten short of three (score) — *ānēlī āśdm*. — J H H

In the Mongsen list *māklyi mūpen tērōk* means literally "six towards twenty" *Sāmra* = (*ā*)-*sām* (*tū*)*rā*, i.e. "three tens," and similarly *lirā* > *phūli tūra*, *rokra* > *terōk tūrā nirā* > *teni tūrā* *Lirā anekhi* = "forty doubled" *Noklang a* means literally "one long 'dao'" The expression was originally applied to a bundle containing a "reputed hundred" of *chabili* ¹ These thin strips of iron are almost certainly derived from the ancient long "dao," and, as they degenerated into currency tokens, a bundle of them was apparently reckoned as the price of one such weapon The Chongli use the equivalent term *noklang kha*, while the Changki term is simply *telang a* ("one long"), *nok* having dropped out The Yacham term *tamong khat* is interesting, for it means literally "one body," which possesses, of course, ten fingers and ten toes ² All numbers above twenty are based on multiples of this They appear to have no term for a thousand The same idea occurs in the Longla term *āmūng phū* for "eighty," meaning literally "four bodies"

Fractions

The only word found is *techatāng* = $\frac{1}{2}$ Other fractions have to be expressed in a roundabout way For instance, "I gave him $\frac{2}{3}$ of the meat" would be

Ninā āsū nōklam phānga lamr nōklām ānēt

I meat shares five having divided shares two
pā-lī khiōgō
 him-to gave

Ordinals.

The only ordinal is *mēnāngpēn* = "first"

Pronouns

The personal pronouns are as follows —

First person Singular *n*

Dual *inēt, kūnet*

Plural *ikhāla, isa, ida*

¹ See p. 102 *supra* — J P V

² So I have heard a Phom when asked how many were present reply, Oh, there was a whole man, meaning at least twenty — J H H

Second person Singular *nāng*

Dual *nānget*

Plural *nāngkhālā* or *ningkhālā*

Third person Singular *pā*

Dual *pānet* or *tōnget*

Plural *tōngkhālā*

The forms *kūnet* and *ikhālā* for the dual and plural of the first person are not used in all villages. They are 'exclusive' forms and indicate that the speaker excludes from the "we" of whom he is speaking the person or persons to whom he is addressing himself. For instance if I say to Lanu "*inet uaro*" (we two will go) it means that Lanu and I are going, but if I say "*kūnet uaro*," it means that I am going, not with Lanu, but with some third person of whom we have been speaking.¹

The above forms are used when the pronoun in question is the object of a transitive verb

<i>Lanuba</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>mengamir</i>
Lanu	me	abuses	
<i>Akwu</i>	<i>ā nā</i>	<i>tōngkhālā</i>	<i>ngosetogō</i>
Tiger	a	them	killed

Where a suffix follows a pronoun the above forms are used for the dual and plural, and for the singular also when the suffix is *na*

<i>Ni-na</i>	<i>nāngkhālā</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>khīrō</i>
I	you to	will	give

Before suffixes other than *-na* the following forms are used for singular pronouns —

First person *kā*

Second person *nā*

Third person *pā*

Kā li *khāng*

Me-to give

For the possessive the dual and plural forms are the same as those for the nominative and accusative, the dis

¹ So in Clang there are inclusive and exclusive terms for the first persons dual and plural *sāy* and *lāy*, *sānn* and *lānn* respectively — J II H

unction of form for the "inclusive" and "exclusive" use of the first person dual and plural holding good

Nānglhālā yimcha tamaro lao

Your customs bad are

For the singular the forms are as follows —

First person *ā*, *i*, *kū*

Second person *nū*, *ning*

Third person *pā*, *pār*

It is not possible, I think, to frame precise rules for the use of the different forms. That in *a* is only used with certain words expressing near relationship (*e g ābā* = "my father"), and in such cases can be employed either when addressing or in speaking of the relation. But in all cases where *a* can be used *kū* can also be used. The latter is preferred when the speaker is not very intimate with the person spoken to. A man I knew well would speak of his father as *ābā*, but a witness in Court when speaking of his father would say *kūbā*. Similarly a man addressing his real elder brother would say *atī*, but when talking to a man who was only his "elder brother" because he belonged to the same clan he would address him as *kūtī*, unless he knew him very well, when he would call him *atī*. The other uses of *kū* are with some relations for which *ā* is never used (*e g kūnu* = "my younger brother"),¹ intimate utensils (*kūnok* = "my 'dao'"), clothes, friends (*kūtōmbā* = "my friend"), and parts of the body (*kūkhet* = "my hand")

I is used with some words expressing relationship (*ichār* = "my child"), domestic animals (*imasū* = "my cow"), house (*ilī* = "my house"), certain utensils (*ichao* = "my cooking pot"). But, as was stated above, no rule can be framed to cover all cases, and only practice will teach a learner when to use *kū* and when to use *i*. Speaking very broadly, however, *kū* implies more intimate contact than *i*.

As for the second person, *nū* is used where *ā* or *kū* would be used for the first person, and *ning* where *i* would be used.

The distinction between *pā* and *pār* is on a different

¹ So in Thado *kū nu* = "my younger brother," has no form with the possessive in *he*, whereas nearly all the terms of relationship are used with *he* for address and *kū* in reference (*cf Thado Kuki Terms of Relationship, Man in India, III 108 sq.*) — J. H. H.

footing and is not based on the relationship between the possessor and the thing possessed, but on the relative positions of the possessor and the speaker *Pa ıchār* = "his child," referring to the child of a man near at hand, and *pār ıchār* = "his child," referring to that of a man some distance away

Where the emphasis is not on the possession of a thing but on its existence the possessive pronoun is not used Thus *Imüpa lao* = "it is my work," but *Nı müpa lao* = "I have work to do" Similarly, *Iması müli* = "my cow is not here," but *Nı ması müli* = "I have no cow" The rule applies to the second and third persons also It is also to be noted that in Mongsen a possessive pronoun is often not used in conjunction with parts of the body where we should use one in English Thus, "My head aches to day" = *Nı thānı telam charu*, meaning literally, "I to day head aches" Similarly the question "What is your name?" is invariably translated *Nāng tening shıba* ? literally "You name who?"¹

The demonstrative pronouns are *ıba* (or *ıbi*) and *tsü*, meaning "this" or "that," the sense indicating whether a near or distant object is being spoken of They follow their substantives and take the usual suffixes —

Amı ıba na kü thāngko saogo

Man this me to said

They are sometimes combined —

Anok ıbatsü liang

"Dao" this buy

The interrogative pronouns are as follows —

"Who?" or "which?" (of persons) = *shıba*

"What?" or "which?" (of things) = *chıba*, *loba*

"Who came?" = *shıba rao* ? "What is the matter?" = *chıba chao* ?

The same forms, with *ola* added to the root of the verb, are used for "whoever," "whatever"

"Whoever comes" = *shıba raola*

"Whatever is seen" = *chıba ungola*

The usual way of expressing a relative clause, however,

¹ So in Angami, *A a so-po-ga* ? Who is your name? —J. II II

is to add the termination *-ba* or *batsū* to the verb, making it into a sort of verbal noun. For instance, "I got the letter which you sent" would be —

Ni na nang na siti zūl-batsū ūngogō

I you letter sent-one got

But 'all who' is generally expressed by *kwoyātū* *pāyātsū*. Thus 'all the men who collected got drunk' would be —

Ami kwoyata sentēp payatsū azū na chao

Men as many collected so many "madhu" by got drunk

Other pronominal forms are —

"Anyone" = *tongwār*

"Anything" = *lūzen a, chūrang a*

"Another" = *thūngār, tīya*

"Each" = *ākhālhet*

"Some" = *īcha, īchālū* (of things),
thūngārū, tīyarū (of persons)

The Verb

The Mongsen verb is not conjugated for number, gender or person, but the tenses are indicated. The verb in any particular English sentence can generally be translated by more than one form of the Mongsen verb, and it is only possible to indicate broadly the particular force of each form. The elasticity of the language makes the framing of precise rules difficult.

A transitive verb is formed from an intransitive verb by the addition of the suffix *-yi*. Thus *meni* = "laugh", *meniyi* = "make to laugh, amuse"

The verb "to be"

The commonest form of the verb 'to be' is as follows —

Present *lao* or occasionally *li*

Past *lio*

Future *loi*

Imperative *liang*

The final *v* in the future of this and other verbs is so faint as to be almost inaudible. But it can just be detected. This form of the verb "to be" is the one always used with

substantives, and is also very frequently employed with adjectives —

Ami a lao

Man a is

Pa 'sü techen lao

His cloth old is

With adjectives the verb "to be" is often omitted altogether —

Pa ki tibat

His house big (is)

Or the suffix *r* can be added to the adjective —

Atsakyim ko atsü mukungr

Winter in water is cold

Or the suffix *o* can be added to the adjective —

Pa tükap tenako

His skin is black

But when expressing qualities *chao* is very commonly used. Often it indicates that the quality referred to did not previously exist —

Pa pong chao

He well is

(generally implying that he has recovered from an illness)

But this word may also be used with permanent qualities, though this sense is not so common —

Tsangr lowa tumram chao

Wild dog's fur red is

The only phrase in which this verb appears to be used otherwise than with an adjective is "*chiba chao*" = "What is the matter?" It is also used as a verbal termination (see p 350). The form for the past is *chaogo* and for the future *chaov*. There is no imperative.

Two other verbs "to be" in use with adjectives are *pao* and *sao* —

Iba techäl pao

This difficult is

Anuti lowa telanga sao

The woman's hair long is

These forms are not conjugated

The ordinary negative form when used with a sub-

stantive is *mūli* or *mūli lao* (or *mūhla*), the past being *mūli ho*, and the future *mūli hio*

Aki lo ami mūli
House in man is not

A stronger form is *mūkha* or *mūkha lao* (*ho*, *hio*)

Yimcha mūkha

Custom is not (i.e. it is absolutely contrary to custom)

The above forms are used with substantives only. With adjectives *mū* is added as a prefix to the adjective, and *lao* (*ho*, *hio*) can be either added or omitted afterwards as the speaker likes —

Kū mulung mū sanguar (lao)
My heart not glad (is)

Tense

With ordinary verbs the chief tense endings are as follows —

Present Tense — The commonest termination is *r* —

Ni na ngāchetr
I understand

When the root of the verb ends in a vowel the termination may be either *r* or *ro* —

Pa na āchen mesār or mesāro
He money is asking for

When the emphasis is on a state of things and the verb has an almost adjectival force the commonest termination is *la* (from the verb “to be”) —

Ni chelio mokokla
I walk cannot

Or the verb “to be” is used with the present participle —

Pa chepa lao
She crying is

When the implication is that the state is one recently arrived at, the termination *-chao* is often used (cf. p. 350) —

Ni-na ngachetchao
I understand (i.e. though I did not before)

A continuing present can be expressed by the terminations *täktüli*, *täktao yatüli* or *tali* :—

Achäk tängtäktüli.

The rice is ripening.

Anuti-tsu layadi kämtäktao.

Girl-the young woman is becoming.

Past Tense.—When an action is entirely past and there is no implication of an effect continuing into the present the verb usually takes either the termination *-o* or none at all :—

Ni-na asüm-pën zuko or *zük.*

I three times fired.

Another less common termination is in *a* :—

Ni-na asüng a lepläka.

I stick a cut.

For the perfect, where the emphasis is on the completion, the usual terminations are *-owo* or *-ogo* (> *owogo*), both being derived from the root of the verb "to go" :—

Ami telu sentepowo or *sentepogo.*

The men all have collected.

This termination is also used for the pluperfect.

Corresponding to the present tense formed from the present participle and *lao*, there is an imperfect similarly formed from the present participle and *lio* :—

Pa chepa lio.

She crying was.

When there is an implication that the effect of a past action is continuing into the present the termination *-chao* is frequently used :—

Tongkhala-na achäng anü rüchao.

They rice bringing have come (i.e.

I shall not have to feed them).

A continuing perfect and pluperfect are formed by the past participle in *-okü* followed by *lao* for the perfect and *lio* for the pluperfect :—

Ensla a-na pa ün chaokü lio.

Leopard-eat a his fowls had been eating.

A word is necessary on the use of the negative with the

past tense. The ordinary practice is to prefix *mo-* (or *mū-*, as guided by euphony) to the verb :—

Ni alu-na mowa.

I fields-to have not been.

But *lao* (and for the pluperfect *lio*) is added as a suffix if there is emphasis on a state of things. For example, "I have not been to the fields this year," with the implied meaning "so you can imagine how ill I have been," would be :—

Ni thākāmkāmko alu-na mowa-lao.

I this year fields-to not-gone-am.

Future Tense.

There are two terminations for the future, *ov* and *ro*, which have the same force.

I will give = *ni-na khirov* or *ni-na lhiro*.

With verbs of which the stem ends in a vowel the two terminations are used with equal frequency, but when the stem ends in a consonant the termination in *-ro* is the more common :—

Ni-na kichen lāmro.

I the property will divide.

Imperative Mood.

The termination of the imperative is *-āng* :—

Kū-l khiang.

Me-to give.

For the negative the termination is dropped and *te-* is prefixed to the root of the verb :¹—

"Do not come" = *tera*.

A curious partially prohibitive form is used. This is *asa* prefixed to the root of the verb :—

asayak = "do not hit too much."

An indirect command is expressed by the termination *-wāng* :—

Dobashi a-na ali-tsū lāmsāwāng.

Dobashi a land-the must divide.

¹ So in Chang, though the negative is otherwise formed by prefixing a privative *a-*, the imperative is turned to a prohibitive by prefixing *tā* —
J. H. H.

When the necessity referred to lies upon the speaker the termination *-o* is used

Ni na i-li yānglushio
 I my house must repair
Ni-na chiba cheningo
 I what ought to do

Participles

The termination of the present participle is *a*, the participle being often doubled for emphasis —

Pa chepa chepa waochũkōgō
 He crying crying went away

The past participle ends in *la*, *ko*, *r*, or *rung*

Pana kū ten $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{chaka} \\ \text{chako} \\ \text{char} \\ \text{charung} \end{array} \right\}$ *waochũkōgo*

He me-with having eaten went away

Infinitive Mood

Under this heading I propose to lump for convenience some of the diverse classes of clauses which are expressed in English by the infinitive mood

An English oblique imperative is expressed directly in Mongsen. Thus "He told me to go" would be —

Pa na kū thangko wang ta sao
 He me to go thus said

Purpose is often expressed by adding either of the future terminations to the subordinate verb —

Pa asū a $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mesaov} \\ \text{mesaro} \end{array} \right\}$ *rao*

He cloth a to ask for came

Or the termination *-wo* may be used —

Ni aor phaswo rao
 I thief to look for went

In clauses where sufficiency is implied the termination *-o* is used

Asū a thāko khām̄ba kwoya war?
 Cloth one to weave cotton how much goes?

The same termination is used in clauses expressing ability

Ni uao mokokla

I to go am unable

In Mongsen a verbal noun is used in phrases where in English either a verbal noun or the infinitive is used. The verbal noun is formed either by adding the substantival prefix *tā*¹ (*ta*, etc.), or the termination *ba*

Tatsü techāk

Seeing }
To see } (is) difficult

Ni anākhün raoba tāmülung lo lao

I again {coming
 {to come} heart in is (i.e. I hope
 to come again)

Verbal Modifiers

These play a most important part in the language. They follow the root of the verb and are in turn followed by the terminations indicating the various tenses, etc. Examples are as follows —

Lep (root) = "cut"

Leplak = "cut through"

Leptsü = "wound with a cut"

Lepset = "cut to death"

Each form can be conjugated in full —

Pana amī a lepssetogo

He man a cut to death

Kha indicates permission. This may be added either to a simple root or to a root plus another modifier —

Kū li asūng a leplakkhang

Me to stick a permit to cut

Or it may have a causal force and the above phrase may be literally rendered "Let a stick be cut to me"

Tāng = "through," of a piercing instrument (*ngo* = "bite,"

ngotang = "bite through", *rang* = "prick," *rang*

tang = "pierce through")

Ma indicates completion (*chening* = "do," *cheningma* = "finish")

¹ See p. 339 *supra* — J P M

Shi indicates repetition (*yanglu* = "build", *yanglushi* = "repair")

Chet indicates thoroughness (*nga* = "hear", *ngachet* = "understand")

Ochuk or *chuk* indicates distance or completeness (*wa* = "go", *waochuk* = "go away", *alak* = "forget", *alakchuk* = "forget completely")

Cham also indicates completeness (*nga* = "hear", *nga cham* = "understand")

Mi indicates desire (*ua* = "go", *wami* = "desire to go")

Chetpi indicates ability (*ua* = "go", *wachetpi* = "able to go")

Tsung has a directional force of "down upon" (*leng* = "pour", *lengtsung* = "pour down upon")

Tūk indicates completeness (*zung* = "blow", *zungtūk* = "blow down")

Tep indicates proximity (*siyu* = "meet", *siyutep* = "meet together") This modifier occurs as part of many verbs of which the simple roots are no longer used

(*ungtep* = "fight", *sentep* = "collect," etc)

The Negative.

The negative is expressed by prefixing *mo*, *ma*, *mi* or *me* to the verb, euphony alone deciding which is used —

<i>Ni waro</i>	<i>Ni mouaro</i>
I will go	I shall not go

But the vowel of *mo*, *ma*, etc, is dropped when the verbal stem begins with a vowel —

<i>Ni-na ungogo</i>	<i>Ni-na mungogo</i>
I got	I did not get

When one verb governs another the negative is affixed to the governing verb —

Ni wao mokolla
I go cannot

But when a verb is made up of a verbal root and a modifier

the negative is affixed to the verbal root, save when the modifier stands alone as a separate verb

Ni wamir

Ni mowamir

I wish to go

I do not wish to go

Nang wamir sũ momir?

You wish to go or not wish?

The negative forms of the verb "to be" have been mentioned above ¹

For the imperative *te* is affixed to the root of the verb

Do not come = *tera*

Interrogative clauses

A question is sometimes simply indicated by the tone of voice —

Pa raogo? = Has he come?

But this use is uncommon and the fuller reduplicated form is almost always used —

Pa rao sũ morao?

Has he come or not come?

Very often the *sũ* is dropped and the question would be asked in the form *Pa rao morao?* The same form of verb, too, is by no means always used in each half of the question "Did he get it or not?" could be *Pa na ungo sũ mungo*, *Pa na ungo sũ mungogo*, or *Pa na ungogo sũ mungo*. A favourite termination of the present for the second half of a question is that in *la* (e.g. *Pa na ungr sũ mungla*), but in Mongsen it is purely a tense termination and does not as in Lhota, of itself indicate a question

Conditional Clauses

These are expressed by adding *bālā* to the stem of the verb in the subordinate clause —

Pa rabala pa li ɪba lɪɪang

He if comes him to this give

Potential Clauses

These can be expressed either by the verbal modifier

¹ See p 349 *supra* —J P M

chetpi, or by the verb *lok*. In the latter case the verb takes the termination *-o*

"I can go" = *Ni wachetpio* or *Ni wao lokr* "I cannot go" = *Ni mowachetpio* or *Ni wao mokolla*

Purpose

The ways of expressing purpose have been noticed under the heading of the infinitive mood

Temporal Clauses

By far the commonest way of expressing a temporal clause is to add the termination *thungko* (lit "at the time of") to the root of the verb of the temporal clause —

Pa rathungko pa li iba khang

He when comes him to this give

Pa morathungko pa li

He not coming time (i e before he comes) him to
iba khang

this give

Pa aki-ko lithungko pa li iba khang.

He home at while is him to this give

Or *lo* alone can be added to the verb of the temporal clause —

Lentiba mangaba rako Lanuba tumulung

Lenti back when came Lanu's heart

sangwar ho

pleased was

A past participle can also, of course be used —

Pa lu ten chaor waochukogo

He me with when he had eaten went away

Another form is with *la* added to the termination of the verb of the subordinate clause, the verb taking whatever tense is suitable —

Pa rarola pa li iba khang

He when shall come him to this give

Lentiba moraogola

Lenti when has not come (i e before Lenti

pa li iba khang

comes) him to this give

A fuller form of this, with *kuoyim* *itürang* (or *ithungtsüko* = "at that time"), is also used —

Pa kuoyim rarula $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{ithungtsüko} \\ \textit{itürang} \end{array} \right\}$ *pa li iba*
 He when shall come then him to this
khung
 give

To express "whenever" *kuoyapen* *payapentsü* is used. Thus "When he comes I give him money" would be —

Pa kuoyapen rar ni na payapentsü
 He how many times comes I so many times
pa li achen khir
 him to money give

Verbal Synonyms

In many cases where in English the same verb is used in Mongsen different verbs are used for similar acts. For example —

To wash the head = *lukkwa*

To wash the body = *atsü yu*

To wash the face or hands = *mütsül*

To wash the feet, clothes, pots and everything else =
tsüchuk

Adverbs

Adverbs can be formed from adjectives by adding the termination *na* to the latter (*T'üpong* = "good," *tüpo ngna* = "well") Other typical adverbs are as follows —

Much = *yia yiatang*

A little = *tasouo*

Thus = *yita*

Then = *itür, ithungtsüko*

Now = *thükhü*

When = *kuoyim*

Sometimes = *khükhü*

Always = *tüthi*

To day = *thān*

Yesterday = *yāsh*

To morrow = *āsāng*
 The day after to morrow = *yāni*
 This year = *thakamkamlo*
 Last year = *yākamkamko*
 Next year = *sāngkamkamlo*
 Here = *ikhu, ikhuko, ibiko*
 There = *ukhu, ukhuko patstuko, ibatstuko*
 Where = *kuchuko*
 On the right = *achayiko*
 On the left = *āyichāko*
 Together = *arolna, melemta kiyungna*
 Separately = *pālālā*
 Suddenly = *āchūngpen*
 Quickly = *perādā*
 For nothing = *āngāte*
 Unnecessarily = *chāmechā*

Conjunctions

The word *atūr* = "and" is almost invariably used to express both the English "and" and the English "but" There are words for "but"—*toku, tokutūngo* and *tūbakoga* but they are hardly ever used This dislike of opposed phrase is a noticeable feature of the language

The word for "or" is *sū* "Will you go or will you stay?" = *Nang waro sū mungov?*

Syntax

In a simple sentence the subject comes first and the verb last, with the object between them —

Ni na ānōk a ligo

I "dao" a bought

Adverbs follow either the subject or the object —

Ni na thani anol a angali ungogo

I to day "dao" a for nothing got

A subordinate clause precedes a principal clause —

Ni kwoyapen rar payapentsū pa li

I as many times come so many times him to
achen khir
 money give

There is no *oratio obliqua*. In the case of reported speech the actual words of the speaker are always used, followed by *ta* —

Pa na Lentiba li achen khiang ta lu thāngko
 He Lenti to money give thus me to
saogo
 said (i.e. He told me to give Lenti money)

Vocabulary

The following list of words will give some idea of the extent to which the various Ao dialects resemble one another

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

English.	Mongsen	Chongli	Changk	Longia	Yacham
Paddy	<i>achal</i>	<i>tsol</i>	<i>achal</i>	<i>chal</i>	<i>chil</i>
Husked rice	<i>achang</i>	<i>chang</i>	<i>achang</i>	<i>chang</i>	<i>chang</i> ¹
Boiled rice	<i>acha</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>acha</i>	<i>chu</i>	<i>chu</i>
Job's tears	<i>amen</i>	<i>menchang</i>	<i>amen</i>	<i>mam</i>	<i>men</i> ²
Millet	<i>chenchang</i>	<i>chenchang</i>	<i>chenchang</i> ²	<i>ten</i>	<i>ten</i>
Taro	<i>ami</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>nichang</i>
Cane	<i>arr</i>	<i>arr</i>	<i>arhu</i>	<i>avir</i>	<i>alhu</i>
Tiger	<i>akicu</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>akicu</i>	<i>khoya</i>	<i>khu</i>
Elephant	<i>sati</i>	<i>shiti</i>	<i>sati</i>	<i>suti</i>	<i>shuti</i>
Sambhur	<i>su</i>	<i>shitsi</i>	<i>sūwo</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>cholongpi ng</i> (stag) ⁴ <i>shuchi</i> (hind)
Barking deer	<i>mūtsu</i>	<i>mūtsu</i>	<i>mūtsu</i>	<i>mūtsu</i>	<i>michi</i>
Serow	<i>changsa</i>	<i>shicu</i>	<i>changsa</i>	<i>suyu</i>	<i>longpongsh</i>
Hornbill	<i>tenam</i>	<i>tenam</i>	<i>tenam</i>	<i>tenam</i>	<i>pelongpung</i>
Common cow	<i>masu</i>	<i>nashi</i>	<i>masu</i>	<i>masu</i>	<i>masu</i>
M. than	<i>atsi</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>atsi</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>chi</i>
Pig	<i>aok</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>ao</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>akshu</i>
Fowl	<i>an</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>anahu</i>
Head	<i>telam</i>	<i>lulal</i>	<i>lululong</i>	<i>tolo</i>	<i>tolo</i>
Hair	<i>koua</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>loua</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>
Eye	<i>teni</i>	<i>tenok</i>	<i>tenik</i>	<i>tenyik</i>	<i>tenyik</i>
Nose	<i>tena</i>	<i>tenu</i>	<i>tena</i>	<i>tenyibong</i>	<i>tenolong</i>
Mouth	<i>tūpang</i>	<i>tūpang</i>	<i>tūpang</i>	<i>tūpang</i>	<i>tūpang</i>
Tooth	<i>tūpa</i>	<i>tūbu</i>	<i>tūpa</i>	<i>tūphu</i>	<i>tūbu</i> ⁵
Tongue	<i>tūmili</i>	<i>tūmili</i>	<i>tūmili</i>	<i>tūmili</i>	<i>tūmili</i> ⁶
Ear	<i>tenarong</i>	<i>tenarong</i>	<i>tenarong</i>	<i>nongnong</i>	<i>tenalong</i>

¹ Cf Thado *chang* —J H H

² Cf Thado *m n* —J H H

³ Whereas *changchang* is the Thado for paddy —J H H

⁴ No common word. —J P M

⁵ But in nearly all other Naga languages and in Thado the word for tooth is *ho* or something very like it —J H H

⁶ Cf Sema *amili* —J H H

English	Mongsen	Chongli	Changki	Longla	Yacham
Neck	tăkhunglen	tăkhung	tăkhung	tăkhung	tăkhung
Body	temang	temang	temang	temang	temang
Hands	tăkhet	tălanak	tăkhet	tăkhet	lak pa
Leg	techang	tălsong	techang	tălsong	teching
Shoulder	tăcha tăman	tapu	tănang	tăo	tichu
Back	tărongtong	tărongtong	tăzongen	tăsong	telonglu ^g
Bone	terat	terat	terat	tăgye	telat
Blood	ayi	ază	ayi	ayi	ayi ¹
War	arri	anamră	anamră	agwao	angă ²
Enemy	techambar	teshambar	telsămară	inănenang	ali
Dao	anok	nok	anol	măgh	noimang
Bow	lichak	lahshang	lichak	lu	lo
Spear	amă	nă	amă	tsă	măsong
Shield	achung	chung	achung	chong	chong
House	alı	lı	alı	lı	kimung ³
Raft	arung	rung	arung	rung	lung
Animal	sarar	shiruru	sarară	(no general term)	pi usu (lit "rats birds")
Bird	waya	wo.ă	wa a	wusu	usu
Fish	anga	ango	anga	ango	ango
Rice beer	ază	yi	ază	lho	alı
Fire	miză	mi	mi.ă	mi	mishă
Water	atsă	tsă	atsă	tsă	lăă
Earth	alı	alı	alı	alı	alı
Sky	aning	anung	aning	aning	anying
Sun	tsungă ⁴	ană	chenă ⁵	tsungli	chingliă
Moon	lata	yăta	lata	luta	lota
Star	petă	petinu	lametsak	chongmen	longching chingso
Wind	mung	mopung	măpung	inăpong	mopung
Rain	tsingă	tsonglu	atsung	tsungo	chinget
Thunder	tsungmul	tsongmul	tsungmul	tsongmul	chingmul
Lightning	tsungla	tsongyi	tsungla	molocang	chingla
Village	ayim	yim	ayim	yim	yim
' Morung	arichu	arichu	achu	auatiki	alichu
' Medicine man "	rachenlar	arăsentsă	lachenlară	aghamo	alamenli
Deity	tsungrem	tsungrem	tsungrem	thangang	abılabu
Long	telang	talang	telang	talang	langla
Short	tetsă	tatsă	tetsă	lhangtangla	ananpla
Hard	tămarang	tămarang	tămarang	thakhang	tămalang
Soft	tansă	tanoă	tansă	tanap	nyala
Heavy	retăr	taret	tăret	mătsungang	talat
Light	tapu	tădongba	tapu	yucale	apikha
Sweet	tămıyang	tanang	tămıyang	tanang	nyangla
Bitter	ăkăă	ăkăă	ăkăă	ăkăă	ăkăă
Bright	sentsă	sentsă	sentsă	sentsă	shinchă
Dark	tănakrham	tănakrham	tănakrham	tanak	nyăk-păt
Black	tănak	tănak	tănak	tanak	nyăkla
White	tămesung	tămesung	tămesung	tapo	mishingla
Red	tămiram	tămiram	tămiram	tămiram	mălamia

¹ Cf Sema a li — J H H² Cf Sema aghă Angamă terryă — J H H³ Cf Lhota kimung = a house site — J H H⁴ Cf Sema tsukinhye (? = 'Eye of heaven & house') — J H H⁵ Cf Chang chanyu — J H H

English	Mongsen.	Chongli	Changk	Longla	Yacham
Green	<i>tüpu</i>	<i>tüpo uk</i>	<i>tüpi lam</i>	<i>tamuk</i>	<i>nyaktar g</i> <i>tang</i>
New	<i>tesen</i>	<i>tasen</i>	<i>tesen</i>	<i>tasen</i>	<i>tasen</i>
Old	<i>techen</i>	<i>techen</i>	<i>ayen</i>	<i>telen</i>	<i>tyen</i>
True	<i>zuchatang</i>	<i>atangchi</i>	<i>zangpung</i>	<i>latana</i>	<i>holang</i>
False	<i>tümarak</i>	<i>ti ja ü</i>	<i>tümarak</i>	<i>angati</i>	<i>tela</i>
Good	<i>tüpong</i>	<i>tachong</i>	<i>tüpong</i>	<i>tachong</i>	<i>chöi gla</i>
Bad	<i>tamaro</i>	<i>tamachong</i>	<i>tümiru</i>	<i>michong</i>	<i>mochongla</i>
Come	<i>ra</i> ¹	<i>ra</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>vica</i>	<i>loa</i>
Go	<i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ica</i>	<i>vca</i>
Stand	<i>y ngli</i>	<i>noktalh</i>	<i>ungli</i>	<i>yung</i>	<i>nokta</i>
Sit	<i>men ja</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>menli</i>	<i>pena</i>	<i>men</i>
Run	<i>sam</i>	<i>asham</i>	<i>samlihu</i>	<i>asam</i>	<i>ashami</i>
Walk	<i>cheli</i>	<i>myilung</i>	<i>i urungli</i>	<i>namuo</i>	<i>mishili</i>
Touch	<i>enchä</i>	<i>tangshi</i>	<i>uncha</i>	<i>thilhu</i>	<i>uchu</i>
See	<i>alsü</i>	<i>reprang</i>	<i>istsü</i>	<i>peya</i>	<i>achu</i>
Hear	<i>nga</i>	<i>angashi</i>	<i>zao</i>	<i>anga</i>	<i>shust u</i>
Speak	<i>sa</i>	<i>shi</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>shu</i>	<i>shu</i>
Eat	<i>cha</i>	<i>chiung</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>tsung</i>	<i>cl uo</i>
Drink	<i>yung</i>	<i>chem</i>	<i>ing</i>	<i>chem</i>	<i>nyung</i>
Die	<i>sü</i>	<i>tasü</i>	<i>sü</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>shi</i>
Fight	<i>unglep</i>	<i>mülanglap</i>	<i>müslap</i>	<i>kutap</i>	<i>patäp</i>
Hit	<i>yak</i>	<i>asak</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>asak</i>	<i>i</i>
Cut	<i>lep</i>	<i>alep</i>	<i>lep</i>	<i>lep</i>	<i>ti</i>
Give	<i>khi</i>	<i>lhow</i>	<i>khi</i>	<i>haora</i>	<i>khäla</i>
Burn	<i>rung</i>	<i>arung</i>	<i>rung</i>	<i>tilen</i>	<i>chil</i>
Carry	<i>an</i>	<i>pün</i>	<i>ün</i>	<i>pün</i>	<i>pün</i>
Tear	<i>tsiba</i>	<i>alsü</i>	<i>tsüta</i>	<i>khia</i>	<i>achha</i>

The following will illustrate the difference between Chongli and Mongsen. I am indebted to Mr H G Dennehy for permission to use one of the Chongli stories written down by him. Under each Chongli word I have given the corresponding Mongsen word.

<i>Tamasanunge</i>		<i>shitsuke</i>		<i>anji</i>	<i>langadang</i>
<i>Menangpenphening</i>		<i>enselana</i>		<i>antsü</i>	<i>iyatang</i>
At first		the leopard cat		the fowls	much
<i>nguseta</i>	<i>chi nua</i>	<i>asu</i>	<i>saka</i>	<i>antebong</i>	<i>miram</i>
<i>ngoseta</i>	<i>cha mia</i>	<i>lio</i>	<i>ibatsuna</i>	<i>antebong</i>	<i>miram</i>
biting	to eat desiring	was	therefore	cocks	red
<i>mirama</i>	<i>alinung</i>		<i>shitsuke</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>langa</i>
<i>mirama</i>	<i>liphennd</i>		<i>enselana</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>iya</i>
being red	because were	the leopard cat		fowls	much
<i>tsubunung</i>	<i>pae</i>	<i>nguseta</i>	<i>machtet</i>		<i>Saka</i>
<i>tsibako</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>ngoseta</i>	<i>müchtet</i>		<i>Ibatsuna</i>
fearing	he	biting	did not eat		Therefore

¹ Angami verbs of going are converted into verbs of coming by suffixing *rr*, e.g. *to = go* *rorr = come*. *Loa* on the other hand is clearly the same root as the Chang word *lo = come*. —J H H

shitsuke pa mulungnung tasa la asateba raratsu
enselana pa tūmulunglo shisa a yanglua untepro
 the leopard cat his heart in plan a making to fight
ayongzukung antebong tumji miramleta
chalak antebong lutsi miramcheta
 sent a challenge cocks all the being red
atenshinung shitsuke kecha sobotsu mesobue
atenshi enselana cha mesobala
 having collected the leopard cat any ornaments not
 putting on
mangsadang lungzua melushia sayunung antebongjage
mangchatang lunglia chilucha tsayako antebongtsūna
 body only prancing dancing when showed the cocks
shitsukji ngur kangadang menunua atol, anungji
enselatsi ungr iyatang menimiachoko, atūr
 the leopard cat seeing much desired to laugh, and
antebongjage kangadang menunung shitsuke
antebongtsūna iyatang menimiko ūnselana
 the cocks much when desired to the leopard cat
 laugh
antebongji tūbu makete angunung shitsuke iba
antūpongtsi tūpa mūhlao ungko enselana atūr
 the cocks teeth are not when saw the leopard cat also
anugonungji sa antebongji metsubue ngusela
tsungikotsuko sa antebongtsi metsibala ngosela
 on that very day thus the cocks not fearing biting
achinung Tangdonga shitsuke an ngusela
chaogo Tūkhuthunga enselana an ngosela
 ate Till now the leopard cat fowls biting
sa achir
sa char
 thus eats

A free translation of the above would run as follows —

“ Now the leopard cat always had a longing to eat fowls but the cocks were so red that he was frightened to tackle them. He therefore devised a plan to find out if they were really as dangerous as they looked. He sent them all an invitation to come and see him dance. But when they

came, instead of putting on his warrior's ornaments and dancing properly, he just hopped about in his untidy, everyday clothes. This made the cocks roar with laughter. And when they opened their mouths the leopard cat saw they had no teeth, so that he was not afraid of them, and ate them. That is why leopard cats eat fowls to this day."

The following is a specimen of the poetical language used in the songs both of the Chongli and Mongsen groups. There is nothing in the way of scansion, but the end of each line, as written, marks a pause in the song. An attempt has been made to give the meaning of each word. A fuller (and more comprehensible) translation will be found on p. 331.

Yongyimsen's song of boasting

O Ungteroklo polare,

O at Ungterok born,

Kunam Alumungba Ashuba soyim,
(of) Brave Alumungba (and) Ashuba generation,

Kānī Lishi sari ngangen nu
One day of Lishi village enemy routed lo

Kab-a tongbang nungshiko ni

Kabza challengers drove back lo

Tinu ana akushiang
Brothers two branching rubber tree

Melem yimti akambangba,

Like (to) great village shade givers,

Tejang chakol palori,

Berries ripe falling,

Langbangnunge Tstiklong
Men of the Langbang range (and) Asukong rango
wabong

cock horn bills

Aotsunge sakoten chongpongten larisa ni

Ao priests with heads (and) mithan do sacrifice lo

Kāten sangru ataklepr lententanung polare

With me in song contest in the path born

O yibangr ya yungsul nunga masol
 O others too reckoning too not making
Ibai thamaitsta ni
 This one behold lo
Yimsungr lipol ungsangr merang chenchang
 (by) Yimsungr tradition am ungr iron steps
Chonglyimti lima
 Chonglyimti on land
Tera yangchammür kiyim mirenra ni
 Root spreading (in) my village am great lo
Ungr Kibulungten ni shuang tatitepma no
 Ungr's Kibulung with lo anyone let him not contest lo

It will be seen that hardly a word is identical with the ordinary spoken dialect, whether Chongli or Mongsen, though Aos certainly regard this poetical language as a form of the latter. Many words are, indeed, peculiar to songs and proper names and are never used in ordinary speech. Examples are *salö* = "head", *chongpong* = "mithan", *tejem* = "wife", *rongsen* = "rich". Since the name of a great man is celebrated in song it is only natural to find many of these words forming parts of proper names, e.g. Chongpongwati, Rongsenwati, Sakolamba and so on. Other words again are invariably used in a figurative sense in songs, e.g. *litsung* = "flower" in ordinary speech, and "handsome young man" in songs, *tebong* = "male" in ordinary speech, but in songs means "handsome" and can be applied to such things as ornaments. When new songs are composed nowadays they strictly follow the same model, and the traditional archaic words and set phrases are invariably employed. The Ao rarely modifies anything, he either breaks violently away from his old customs or adheres strictly to them.

The Ao New Testament

The four Gospels, the Acts, the First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistle of Saint James, the First and Second Epistles of Saint Peter, the three Epistles of Saint John and the Epistle of Saint Jude have been trans-

and I have often heard them most aptly quoted by Christians. But with the more metaphysical passages, such as are so common in the Epistles, the case is far different. One day I examined a class of boys who were reading the First Epistle to the Corinthians and reading it fluently. Every single one of them admitted frankly that he did not understand in the least what it was all about. They did not herein, I think, differ greatly from the average literate Christian. Ao. The Ao language is as poor in abstract terms as was the English of Chaucer. But when the need was felt to philosophize in English, there was the rich store of Latin and the Romance languages from which to draw. Ao has no such source: abstract words must be formed from the materials in the language. Mrs. Clark in her *Ao Grammar* notes the scarcity of such words and gives rules for their formation. This is all very well, but the resulting language is not that which the Aos speak (one could live in an Ao village for a month, I think, without hearing an abstract term) and passages of the Bible translated in this way are awkward, and undoubtedly convey little meaning to most readers. For an example take 1 Cor. xv. 53 sqq.

<i>Kechnasür</i>	<i>iba</i>	<i>tesamaba</i>	<i>mesamatsü</i>
For	this	destructible thing	indestructibility
<i>enlol tsula, aser</i>	<i>iba</i>	<i>tasüba</i>	<i>masütsü enlol tsula</i>
puts on,	and this	mortal thing	immortality puts on
<i>Saka kodang</i>	<i>iba</i>	<i>tesamabae</i>	<i>mesamatsü</i>
But	when	this	destructible thing indestructibility
<i>enlokdir aser</i>	<i>iba</i>	<i>tasüba</i>	<i>masütsü enlokdir</i>
shall put on	and this	mortal thing	immortality shall put on
<i>idanggi züluba</i>	<i>oy</i>	<i>abaloktsü</i>	<i>oda tasüba</i>
then	the writing	true	shall be fulfilled, thus death
<i>takokba nung</i>	<i>meyok</i>	<i>O tasüba</i>	<i>ne takokba</i>
victory	in	is swallowed up	O death your victory
<i>long ali?</i>	<i>O tasüba</i>	<i>ne metakba</i>	<i>long ali?</i>
where is?	O death	your	sting where is?

Thus the passage can be quite literally translated, but only by deliberately "forming" such abstract words as *tesamaba*, *mesamatsü*, *tasüba*, *masütsü*, *takokba*, *metakba*

Whether such words will ever cease to be purely literary and understood only by the few, and will form a part of the living language of the tribe is a difficult question to answer. Such a day will only come when the Ao of himself begins to philosophize on the why and wherefore of life and death, and thereby creates a current need for such words.

An initial difficulty which confronted the translators was that of rendering such terms as God, Holy Ghost, Kingdom of Heaven, and so on. Their plan has been to use current Ao expressions in the hope that new meanings will become attached to them. This is risky. The words have a definite meaning in Ao and a remnant of it may stick. How real the danger is will be seen from a few examples. *Tsungrem* is used to translate both *ἄντρος* and *ὁ Οεος*. Now *tsungrem* means a spirit attached to a definite place, of a character which at best is neutral and is always liable to be hostile. "Holy Ghost" is translated *Tanela temeshi*, which means, quite literally, "holy soul," *tanela* being the word for a soul, of which, according to Ao belief, every man has three.¹ The word is used to translate both *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*. "Satan" (*ὁ Σαταῖας*) is sometimes translated by *Lizaba*, sometimes by *Mozing*² and sometimes transcribed as *Satan*. The last is by far the best plan. *Lizaba* and *Mozing* are far from being devils. The first is the deity of the crops and the second the judge and ruler of the Land of the Dead, aspects surely, though imperfectly seen by the Ao, of the One God of Christian theology. The heathen may grope in darkness but the Hands they grasp are not always those of fiends. A very great difficulty has been to find a word to translate *ἡ βασιλεία* in the phrases *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* and *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*. There is no such word in Ao and *im* has been used, the phrases being *Kotal im* and *Tsungrem im*. Now *im* means "village" and quite definitely can only be applied to a place. *Kotal im* therefore means "sky village" and *Tsungrem im* "deity's village". This, conversations with Christians have convinced me, has led to a widespread

¹ Ibid p 224 *supra* — J P M

² *Mo-ing* = *Mo ung* = *Moyotsung* — J P M

misunderstanding, and converts commonly vaguely picture the Kingdom of Heaven and the Kingdom of God not as a state of union with God, but as a *place* in the sky

In one or two passages it almost looks as if doctrinal beliefs had led the translators to read into the Greek rather more than is really there. For instance, in James v 20, *σωσει ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ θανάτου* is translated *tanela molom nunge sot* ('shall save his soul from hell fire'). There is nothing about hell fire in the Greek.¹ Again, in Jude 23 *ἐκ πυρός* is translated *molomae amba temenen lemang nunge* ('from the accursed path leading to hell fire'). But the fire referred to in the Greek is in all probability, not hell fire, but a purely figurative fire from which brands are to be plucked, the passage being reminiscent of Amos iv 11 and other verses in the Old Testament. Another translation which struck me is that of 1 Peter ii 5, where *ἱερατεῖα* is translated *tenzükba*, which does not mean 'priesthood' at all, but 'servitude,' the word *tenzüker* being used quite correctly in Jude 1 to translate *δοῦλος*. It is inconsistent to translate *ἱερατεῖα*, where Christians are referred to, in this way, while *ἀρχιερεὺς* is translated *tamarenba putir* ('great putir'), *putir* being the word for a non-Christian Ao priest. If different words are to be used for a Jewish and a Christian priesthood the translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews will be a difficult task.

In view of the great importance attached by the Mission to total abstention from fermented liquor, it is regrettable that their translation of the New Testament does not make clear Our Lord's attitude towards wine. With curious inconsistency *παινοῦμενοις ἐν οἴνοφθγυγίαις* in 1 Peter iv 3 is translated *yi zümogo* ('drank rice beer'), while *οἶνος* elsewhere is translated *tsukmenatsu tzu*, meaning simply 'juice of the *tsukmenatsu* berry'. The word does not indicate that the liquor was fermented, and is indeed used for the unfermented American grape juice with which the Mission celebrate the Lord's Supper.² Again in the account

¹ For the teaching of the Mission on Hell fire see p. 412 *infra* —J 1' M

² The word *elvos* ought undoubtedly to be translated by *yi* (rice beer). It is never used except with reference to fermented liquor, and Herodotus in II 77, speaks of barley beer as *elvos ἐκ κρῶν* wine made from grapes being similarly specified as *elvos ἀμείλιος* (II 60) —J 1' M

of the marriage in Cana of Galilee¹ *ὅταν μεθυσθῶσιν* is merely translated *aeiga jumerang* ("when they have drunk much"), the true force of *μεθυσθῶσιν* not being reproduced; but, again inconsistently, *ὃς δὲ μεθύει* in 1 Corinthians xi. 21 is translated *tangar ka yi meseper* ("another is drunk on rice beer"). The result of this translation is that all the converts I have ever spoken to on the subject have been led to believe that the non-alcoholic American *tsukmenatsu tzu* with which they are familiar is the same as the wine which Our Lord created in Cana in Galilee and which He used at the Last Supper. Indeed the Ao translation of the New Testament makes possible, if not inevitable, the quite erroneous inference that Our Lord Himself abstained from fermented wine and that Prohibition is based on His teaching.

¹ It is to be remembered that St. John was writing in Ephesus, a stronghold of the Gnostics, who were opposed to the use of wine and all pleasures. Tradition relates that St. John preached vehemently against their doctrine, and he doubtless had them in view when he recorded this miracle. The force of the passage, from this standpoint, is entirely lost in the Ao translation —J. P. M.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE CEREMONIAL OF THE FEASTS OF MERIT

A GENERAL account has been given above of the Feasts of Merit which play such an important part in Ao life. For anyone who may be interested a more detailed description is given here. An attempt has been made to give the full ceremonial, not omitting the torture of animals, which is now prohibited.

CHONGLI FEASTS OF MERIT

First Feast

The first feast is called *nashu achi* (‘bull killing’). For it are required a red bull and three pigs. Before the ceremony begins rice is boiled over a fire which has been lit with a bamboo fire thong and “madhu” prepared for the men who will help to collect wood wherewith to cook the sacrificial meat. If anyone dies in the village after this “madhu” is made and before the bull is sacrificed it is a very bad omen. The details of each day of the ceremony are as follows —

First Day — Friends of the sacrificer¹ collect at his house and are given “madhu,” “dal” and ginger. This is to ward off the influence of evil spirits. They then go off and collect wood and pile it in front of the sacrificer’s house. Two friends of the sacrificer, who stand to him in the special relation of *tomba* and *ashibu*, go into the jungle and cut a forked post (*nashu songsong*), which they carry up to the village and leave outside the fence. They then collect and

¹ The giver of the feast has been spoken of throughout as the sacrificer for the sake of brevity though he does not kill the animals himself —
J I M

bring in *amchi* leaves, which will be needed during the ceremony. Meanwhile the sacrificer and his household prepare eight baskets for "madhu" rice and set seven of them ready along the wall. One special one, called *senli rakshiba* ("the basket on which *senli* leaves are"), is set apart from the others. In the evening the sacrificer ties an egg in a little basket and a cane leaf on to the *senli rakshiba* basket. After he has done this he must allow nothing to leave his house until the day of the sacrifice. On the night of this day the *tomba* and *ashibu* sleep in the sacrificer's house.

Second Day—This is called *yikimung ali* ("madhu"-making stay-at-home day). At first cock crow fermented "madhu" rice is put into the *senli rakshiba* basket, the rice being first very carefully examined, if any bits of burnt wood, or bamboo shaving, or rat dung are found in it, it is a very bad omen. The other baskets are then similarly filled with fermented rice, and all eight are left to drain. On this day the *tomba* and *ashibu* go round the village summoning the guests for the morrow. Each takes with him an *amchi* leaf-cup of "madhu," which he gives to drink to the first man he meets. On this day the sacrificer and his family are "genna" (*anembong*). They may leave their house, but they may not take food or drink or fire from another house.

Third Day—This is the day of the sacrifice. In the morning the guests assemble, each bringing a present of a gourd of "madhu" and some meat wrapped in a leaf. The three pigs which have been kept for the sacrifice are caught by the *tomba* and *ashibu* and men who have married women who stand in the relation of sister to the sacrificer. The animals, having been caught, are left lying outside the house with their legs tied together. They are to be killed by the sacrificer's father, or uncle, if he has no father. He sits in the sacrificer's house while the pigs are being caught and now comes out carrying an *amchi* leaf-cup of "madhu," which he throws on the ground with the following prayer:

" <i>Kibung</i>	<i>yang</i>	<i>aliripuk</i>	<i>shilu</i>	<i>shira</i>
House	this in	those who live	illness	sickness

<i>asū</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>Woze</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>mowalichang</i>
have died	indeed	May we	through him	live long
<i>n</i>	<i>Para</i>	<i>wōe</i>	<i>mowalichang</i>	<i>n</i> <i>Anong</i>
indeed	May he	through us	live long	indeed
<i>songlo</i>	<i>tūmang</i>	<i>lentama</i>	<i>thanya</i>	<i>asunga</i> <i>yamesha</i>
trees	all	felling	to day	to morrow
<i>chuyungtaba</i>	<i>alitsū</i>	<i>an</i>	thus	

eating and drinking be indeed" (*I e* "The post must not be angry for it has lived its allotted span May this sacrifice bring long life both to the sacrificer and to those who are helping him, and may he grow so rich and give so many feasts like this that all the trees in the jungle will have to be felled to provide memorial posts") The *tomba* and *ashibu* then dig a hole in front of the house and set up the post The bull, which has been tied up somewhere conveniently near, is now brought by the same two men and tethered to the post with a new rope of sword bean creeper By this time it is early afternoon After the sacrificer and his household and the *tomba* and *ashibu* have had a meal he goes with the *tomba* and *ashibu* and some *anokabang* to his granary to fetch the rice which is to be distributed to the guests later Meanwhile an old man goes through the village and calls on all friends of the sacrificer to come and receive their share of food Each man as he comes is given a small basket of paddy and six small pieces of pork

In the late afternoon the actual sacrifice of the bull takes place The sacrificer and his wife make a formal exit from their house wearing full dress He leads and is followed by his wife, the *tomba* and *ashibu* bringing up the rear The *yishamr* are stationed in the outer room and as the procession passes through they pound the fermented rice again in order to keep away evil spirits The sacrificer holds in his right hand two *amchi* leaf-cups, one containing water and the other 'madhu' from the *senli rakshiba* basket which was set apart the first day, and in his left hand a small chicken His wife similarly has a cup of water and a cup of 'madhu' in her right hand In her left hand she has two folded leaves, one containing a little rice flour and some pounded *aro* seeds, and the other two *senli* leaves, two little lumps of

salt, two little leaf parcels of boiled rice and two little leaf parcels of fish. The sacrificer and his wife stand in front of the bull and the former utters the following prayer, called *atak atam* "O *yita*, 'nū, *yungkung tsungrem*, *shoba*

"O Moon, sun village spirit, birth
tyaba tsungrem, *na* *aktüst* *agi* *woze ya*
 fortune spirits, you indeed giving through we too
aktüst ani Chuba nashi tarak tashi agi
 are giving indeed Assam Raja's bull bad evil with
ya, alji al shang agi kupue
 too, castrated pig pig bad with my ancestors
kulamr, kupue kulamr,
 having done sacrifice my ancestors having done sacrifice,
woze kulamr

we are doing sacrifice

[Here follow the names of all the sacrificer's rich ancestors]

aren, Changkikong aren, Langbangkong
 prosperity, the Changki range prosperity, the Langbang range
aren, woze kibung asunga arung

prosperity our house seeking may it come" (I.e. "Our sacrifice is only a poor one, a bull from the plains and inferior pigs, but it is such as our forefathers made. May therefore their prosperity and the prosperity of the whole Ao country come to this house.") Then the sacrificer hands the chicken to either the *tomba* or *ashibu* to hold and pours over the bull's head the water and "madhu" from the cups he is holding. Either the *tomba* or *ashibu* then takes the empty cups and ties them to the forked post so that their tops point to the east. The sacrificer's wife then repeats the *atak atam* prayer in turn and pours the water and "madhu" on the bull's head as her husband had done. He takes from his wife the leaves containing flour, boiled rice, etc., and empties their contents over the bull's head with the *atak atam* prayer. Next he takes the chicken and plucks it alive, and throws the feathers on to the bull's head, repeating the *atak atam* prayer again as he does so. This done, he cuts the bird's throat with a little bamboo knife and, slitting its stomach, extracts the entrails and examines them to see what they portend. The chicken, like the cups, is tied by the *tomba*

or *ashibu* to the post with its beak pointing towards the east. The sacrificer and his wife then retire into the house, for they must not see the bull killed. As they pass through the outer room the *yishamr* again pound. When they are safely inside an old man of the sacrificer's clan fells the bull by slashing it with a "dao" through the spine just above the tail. As the beast lies on the ground boys fight for the blood, letting it run into bamboo "chungas" and plunging their hands into the wound to get more. Finally a man who stands in the relation of elder brother to the sacrificer kills the animal by piercing its forehead with an axe (*pu*) bound round with *amchi* leaves, and poking a stick into the brain. The boys go off to this man's house, where they boil and drink the blood. The meat is divided up, each man's share being very strictly regulated by custom. The meat of the head is given to the *Minden Putir*, the skull being set up by the *tomba* and *ashibu* on the end of a short bamboo, which is tied to the forked post. The sacrificer and his wife get none of the meat, which is absolutely "tabu" to them. They must eat nothing from the time the bull is killed till next morning. Even if they smoke they must light their pipes with new fire lit with a bamboo fire thong. Till dawn the *tomba*, *ashibu* and *anolabang* remain in the house singing of the wealth and prowess of the village as a whole, and of the sacrificer's ancestors in particular. Love-songs are barred on this occasion.

Fourth Day—This is a day of purification. Just before dawn the sacrificer and his wife go down to the village spring, taking with them a torch lighted with "new" fire. He also has six and she five miniature bamboo hoes. The torch is left on the ground by the water, and the couple wash and scrape their limbs with the hoes, saying as they do so.

" *Thanep* *anembong* *thabensa*
 " This morning the time of 'genna' is finished

Kizishi, *ngamshi*¹ *achak achicha ani* "

Tiger meat, python flesh, all can eat indeed "

¹ This of course is only a way of saying that they are free from extraordinary restrictions. Tiger flesh and python flesh are always absolutely 'tabu' to everyone.—J P M

They bring back with them a "chungu" of water which must be used for cooking before any of the water already in the house can be used. After a meal the sacrificer again goes down the path towards the village spring, taking with him one of the baskets which have been used for fermented rice, and the egg and cane leaf which were tied to the *senli rakshiba* basket on the first day. The basket he cuts in two and pins the two halves to the ground with little sticks, laying the cane leaf by them, the egg he breaks into a leaf and cooks and eats. On coming home he drinks "madhu" which has drained from the *senli rakshiba* basket. No one may partake of this "madhu" but the sacrificer, his wife and his *tomba* and *ashibu*, and any left six days after the killing of the bull must be thrown away. On this morning the *tomba* and *ashibu* light a fire in front of the sacrificer's house with the rubbish with which the place is littered. This fire is kept going for three days and the smoke of it going up to heaven advertises the sacrificer's wealth and prosperity.

Fifth Day —The sacrificer plucks a chicken alive over the bull's skull and utters the *atal atam* prayer. He then gives the skull to the *Minden Putir*, who dries it in his house for a few days and then hangs it up in the "morung". The sacrificer brings it to his house at the next festival of first reaping, and every year at that festival he plucks a chicken alive over the skull, smears a pattern of rice flour paste on its forehead and says the *atal atam* prayer. Every year for that day and the five succeeding days beef, chicken and rice flour may not be eaten by him or his family.

On the sixth day after the bull has been killed the sacrificer and his wife go and wash at the village spring, and for a month after the sacrifice beef, chicken and rice flour are "tabu" to them and their household.

Preliminaries of the Mithan Sacrifice

A man who has performed the *nashi achi* may proceed to the mithan sacrifice. Certain preliminary gifts must be presented to the *Tatar Putir*, and to the village elders and members of his own clan. Late in the summer, before the cold weather in which he proposes to do the mithan sacrifice,

he gives a pig called *puticheptsü* to the *Tatar Putir*. On the same day, or it may be later, he gives another pig called *tiyungshu* to the same man. He meanwhile buys and fattens up the pigs which will be required for the big sacrifice. One, called *yimlang* ("the price of the village"), he gives to the *Tatar* as a whole. Another, called *tsubulang* ("the price of the village spring"), goes to the *Tazangpur* and *Tampur* among the *Tatar*. At this time he must make presents of meat to all the men of his clan and one old man of every other clan in the village. This is called *shuwua*, and for it are required two cows and two or three pigs. From this time the sacrificer is *anembong*—he must refrain from sexual intercourse, must eat nothing that has been offered in sacrifice, must not go to any house where a ceremony is being performed for illness, or where there is a corpse. The next present is a small pig to the *Tatar Putir*. This is called *tsakputen* ("rice-drying beginning"), i.e. it marks the beginning of the paddy drying and immediate preparations for the mithan sacrifice. The senior of the *Tatar Putir* goes to the place (*tsüri lenten*) outside the village fence where certain ceremonies are performed, and pours "madhu" from an *amchi* leaf cup on to the ground, saying as he does so

"O *yita*, 'nü, *yunglung tsungrem*, *thanya asanga*
 "O Moon, sun village spirits to day to morrow
yamesha chiyungtaba alitsü an Par
 thus eating and drinking be indeed May he
wore mowalichang an Wo-e par
 through us live long indeed May we through him
mowalichang an Shulu shira tesetsü
 live long indeed Illness sickness let there not be
ni Par penchong nung pu tsaktang rutang
 indeed His festival at too hindrance stoppage
tesetsü ni
 let there not be indeed "

The leaf cup is left in a cleft stick. The *Putir* then spreads out on a mat and dries a little rice which has been brought from the sacrificer's house. This rice he returns to be used with other rice in brewing "madhu" for the sacrifice. The *Putir* is *anembong* for six days.

Two days later the part of the preliminaries called *saya* takes place. One of the sacrificer's pigs is killed by his father (or uncle). 'Madhu' is prepared on this day.

Two days later is the first ceremonial pounding of rice, called *pangnem*. Women of the sacrificer's clan pound rice for him in the village street. A pig is killed and each woman receives two pieces of meat. One hundred *chabili* are also distributed among them.

Another two days later the second formal pounding takes place, this time by the women of the sacrificer's wife's clan. Two pieces of pork and 100 *chabili* are distributed as before. Two days later again the women of the sacrificer's clan pound a second time, but they receive no meat or *chabili*.

Yet another two days later all the men and boys of the village come and dance in front of the sacrificer's house. Two pigs are killed to provide them with pork, and each married man receives ten *chabili*, and each unmarried man and boy five. This is the last of the preliminaries and next day the ceremonies proper of the mithan sacrifice (*stüchi*) begin.

Mithan Sacrifice

First Day—A man of the sacrificer's clan who has done the mithan sacrifice himself and who is the son of a man who has done it gives notice in the village of the approaching feast. He is called *sentiyen* ('tying up announcer'), and his duty is to go all round the village calling out "So and so will tie up a mithan the day after to-morrow." This is false, for the mithan will really be tied up the next day. But the object is to deceive the *lotakr* ('sky folk'), for the death of a mithan on earth means the death of one of them in the sky, and they might somehow stop the sacrifice if they knew in time.¹

Second Day—The mithan is tied up to a post in the dancing ground of the village. Round its neck is a collar of *chirü* creeper and *süzong ü* (sword-bean) creeper. This collar is all one piece, with a stout rope exactly one cubit long, terminating in another circle which is slipped over the post, a cross pin being put through the top of the post. From the collar is

¹ See p. 224 *supra*—J. P. M.

suspended a basket ornamented with two hornbill feathers and containing a cock. The mithan's horns, too, are decorated with tassels of bamboo shavings. The sacrificer kills five head of pigs and cattle for meat. Later the mithan is prepared for torture. One of the sacrificer's clan who has the reputation of being a warrior and the possessor of a bad temper baits it by crashing his shield against it and hitting it with a stick. Boys, too, smear it all over with a lather of *pobangkap* bark, in order to make it slippery and difficult to hold when the young bucks come and wrestle with it. While this is going on men of the sacrificer's clan dance round and round the mithan, for it must never be left unattended. The men who are to wrestle with it are the young *anokabang* of the sacrificer. They come in procession, "ho hoing" and led by two old men, each holding one end of a long stick, so that none of those behind can push in front of them. The bucks march six times round the mithan and then attack it. They throw it, and hold it with its horns pressed to the ground and its muzzle strained upwards so that it cannot rise. Those who are not engaged in holding it down jump and dance on it till it is exhausted. If there appears to be danger of the animal dying, the clansmen of the sacrificer drive off the *anokabang*, for the mithan "would be angry in the next world" if it were killed in this way. When it is thoroughly exhausted it is released and allowed to rise. After a short rest it is thrown and danced on again, the torture being repeated three times. For their service the *anokabang* receive one hundred and fifty *chabih*, the payment being called *stimalangnok* ("mithan throwing payment - 'daos'"). When they have gone men of the sacrificer's clan take the mithan away and tie it up outside the house of an old man of the clan. He receives as his fee the cock which was in the basket suspended from the mithan's neck. Young men of the sacrificer's clan give the mithan water and watch it all night. At first cock-crow the sacrificer and his wife come and give it salt and water "so that it may be strong enough to travel along the road of the dead". On this night the *anokabang* and women whom the sacrificer calls sister dance in his house.

Third Day—In the morning the mithan is tethered to the post again, and in the afternoon men and women of all clans in full dress dance round it chanting. At about sunset the sacrificer and his wife make offerings and utter prayers similar to those made at the bull sacrifice. The same procession of the sacrificer, his wife and the *tomba* and *ashibu* comes out of the house and, with the usual prayer that the *aren* of his ancestors and of the whole Ao country may come to him, he pours over the mithan's head two leaf-cups of water and two leaf-cups of 'madhu'. His wife, as before, makes a similar offering, and he in turn offers flour, rice, fish, etc., as at the bull sacrifice. He plucks a cock alive and having taken the omens from its entrails, gives it to the *tomba* and *ashibu* to tie to the post. He then leads the procession back to his house, dancing and jumping as he goes. Just as he is about to enter, a man of his clan, who is both old and poor and altogether a pretty useless member of the community—for the deed is horribly "tabu"—spears the mithan behind the right shoulder. A thrust from such a feeble arm does not kill the beast, and the bucks of the village bring it to the ground by severing the tendons of the knees and hamstringing it. They then drag it alive to the sacrificer's house, he meanwhile remaining inside. A puppy is killed by being dashed against the forehead of the mithan, which, whether it is yet dead or not, is cut open and disembowelled and so left till the morning. That night men of the sacrificer's clan and women of his wife's clan dance in his house till dawn.

Fourth Day—At first cock crow the two oldest of the *Tatar Putir* climb on to the roof of the sacrificer's house by two bamboo ladders, placed one at the front and one at the rear end of the house. The one who climbs up in front throws into the air the tip of the mithan's tongue, which he cuts off before he ascends, and calls out on a high note "Pi ru ru ru". The one who climbs up at the back calls out on a low note "Tu tu tu". This is supposed to inform the 'sky-folk' (*kotakr*) that a mithan is dead. Having called out the news, the two old men get down as quickly as they can, for if they are slow the *kotakr* will throw weaving swords at

them On this day the mithan meat is divided up by the *anokabang*, and another pig is killed to provide pork for the assistants The sacrificer and his household are under the same "tabus" as they were after the *nashu achi* sacrifice They can, of course, eat none of the mithan meat, which is distributed according to custom The skull is dealt with in the same way as that of the bull The sacrificer removes it from the "morung" at the next harvest festival and hanging it up in the front room of his house plucks a chicken over it and offers flour, etc Six days after this his period of *anembong*, which began at the distribution of meat called *shuwua*, comes to an end

Fifth Day—The sacrificer himself kills a pig in front of his granary in order to procure more *aren* to make up for all the grain he has used This sacrifice is called *chinwaluk*

In the course of the year, either just before sowing or before harvest, the sacrificer kills a pig in front of his field house This is called *chamlang nichap* Later in the year, or even in the course of the next year, another pig called *lakhharokru* is sacrificed in the same place

A man may perform the *suchi* sacrifice as often as he likes, but three times is regarded as a complete series and few men go beyond that The third *suchi* is also called *ymlial*

MONGSEN FEASTS OF MERIT

The system resembles that of the Chongli but considerable differences in ceremonial make a separate description necessary

Preliminary Sacrifice

A young man who proposes to perform the series of feasts of merit buys a young castrated pig, usually about two years old With this pig he then performs the ceremony called *thupetu* ('body brushing'), in order to brush away all evil influences before he begins the series proper On the appointed day his *tumnakr* (i.e. men who have married or can marry women whom he calls sister) catch the pig for him and tying its legs together leave it lying outside his house Then four clan priests (*Pachar Patir*) and some

old men come They enter the house and each is given an *amcha* leaf of ' madhu ' They then go outside the house, and the eldest of the priests utters the following prayer

' *Lata, tsungi, soba tiyaba, lima yimlung tsungrem,*
 ' Moon, sun, birth fate, fields village spirits,
i ichar i nula akhu lakhsang arr lah sang
 my son my daughter *Ficus* tree shoot cane shoot
metemtang sowang, atür par zichenla Mulu lisam
 like make, and his work Brahmaputra sand
metem Pabutsü metem yungagao tiyungmao
 like Doyang River like drinking let not be drunk up
chakhälha techamao '

eating let not be eaten up ' All then throw down their leaf cups For the top of a cup to fall pointing to the east is a good omen, but one pointing to the west is a bad omen All then re enter the house, out of which the senior priest comes again, holding a large cock Repeating the prayer quoted above, he cuts its throat with a little bamboo knife and sitting the stomach takes the omens from the entrails This done, he hangs it up on the front wall of the house The four priests then have a meal in the outer room, and the senior prepares a sharp bamboo stick to which he fastens two little leaf parcels of ginger and two of meat All going outside again, he draws the sharp bamboo stick across the right flank of the pig six times counting aloud as he does so, and then plunges it home behind the shoulder As the animal gasps in its death agony, one of the priests pours a little " madhu " into its mouth and says " *Ibi yungr wang* " " This drinking go "

If blood gushes from the pig's mouth it is a very bad omen for the priest who killed it The *tümnakr* singe the pig and open the carcass to see if there has been a great effusion of blood in the stomach or not If there has been the sacrificer will get good crops They then divide up the meat The head goes to the sacrificer, but he gives the meat on it to the *tümnakr*, only keeping the skull, which he fixes against the wall of his outer room The senior priest receives the piece of meat round the wound made by

the bamboo stick, and a piece of the internal organs. The priest who gave the pig a last drink of "madhu" also gets a portion of the internal organs. These two priests also share with the other two the meat of the belly and the rest of the organs and legs, cut off short. The heart goes to the sacrificer's mother and the flanks to his father in law. The liver is eaten on the spot by all present, except the sacrificer and his wife, who may touch none of the meat. The rest is divided among all the guests present, some being eaten on the spot and some being taken away for future consumption. After this the four priests are "genna" (*limung*) for six days, and the sacrificer and his wife for six days for their own village and twelve days for strangers. They are not debarred, however, from going to their fields.

Preliminary Ceremony in Fields

At harvest time of the year following that in which *thūpetū* was performed the sacrificer feasts his clanswomen and *tūmnakr* with a big boar in his fields. The ceremony is called *aluna aok an*. On the previous day he sends four old women round the village to tell his clanswomen to come down to the fields on the morrow. In the morning the *tūmnakr* catch the pig, tie it up and carry it down to the sacrificer's field house. A large gourd of "rohi madhu" with a little leaf parcel of meat and ginger is also taken down. With them go the sacrificer and the four old women and all the women of the clan. On this occasion girls who were first tattooed the previous cold weather make their initial appearance at a public ceremony as members of the clan. On arrival, the gourd of "rohi madhu" is given to one of the old women, who stands outside the field house and makes offerings of 'madhu,' ginger and meat with the following prayer: '*Lata, tsungi, soba tiyaba, ibi char*

"Moon, sun, birth fate, this eating

alu zūkhūkha tezūmao"

field • reaping let the reaping never be finished" (*I e*
'Let there be such a bumper crop that it will be impossible to reap it all') All the women present drink 'madhu' and

the sacrificer kills the pig in the usual way with a sharp bamboo, reciting as he does so the following words: "Alu
"Field

tūklong tsungrem chaya charu techao, malong
hull spirits illness sickness let there not be, rice plant
akha mayarlang talang zūang
single thousands so much reap" (I.e. "May each rice plant
give a harvest of thousands of ears of grain") The *tūmnakr*
sing the pig while the sacrificer offers an egg and a cock.
The meat is then divided up and all feast. The sacrificer is
kūmung for six days and the four old women for three

First Feast of Merit

The first feast of merit is called *masūtstū*. About a year beforehand the sacrificer buys a red bull, and six pigs—two boars and four sows. He makes no public announcement of his intentions, but this purchase of animals is a signal to the village that he intends to give the *masūtstū* feast. Before the harvest previous to the cold weather in which the ceremony is to take place he calls all his friends and goes down and poisons a stream for fish. Most of the fish are given to the *tūmnakr*, who dry them and return them to the sacrificer, those who helped him at the poisoning only getting one fish apiece at the most and none at all if the catch is a poor one. About November the four clan priests are summoned to the sacrificer's house. The senior one offers an egg at the foot of the centre post of the division between the outer and main rooms, while the other three dry a little rice on a mat on the platform at the back of the house. The senior priest having offered the egg comes on to the platform and says "*Iata, tsungi, nang souaba*

"Moon, sun, to you to give (we)

achak phutangr"

rice are spreading" After this formal drying of rice a formal making of "*madhu*" takes place. One of the priests lights a fire with flint and steel at a new hearth in the outer room and, all four helping, some rice is boiled. The senior priest mixes yeast with it when it has been turned out on to a mat, and packs it into a basket which

he sets up to drain. The rice, which has been lying in the sun on the platform at the back of the house, is brought in.

For the next three days the sacrificer's *tūmnakr* are busy helping him. They bring in wood and bamboo shoots and *amcha* leaves, and build a little hut on the platform at the back. The ceremony proper then begins.

First Day—In the morning the *tūmnakr* catch and tie up one boar and two sows. These are killed in the usual way by the senior clan priest. Some of the meat is divided up by the *tūmnakr* on the spot, but most of it is stored in the hut at the back for future use.¹ Meanwhile all men of the sacrificer's clan go and cut wood for him. Two of the sacrificer's *tomba* (formal friends) go and fetch the forked post, which they have left ready cut outside the village fence the previous day. One of the priests digs a hole for the post in front of the house under the eaves and sets it up. The senior priest then lays two leaf cups of ' *mādhū*,' and two leaves containing meat and two containing ginger at the foot of the post and says " *Lima yimlung tūpong*
' Fields village good

libula thani lha asang lha atsū rimtung
thus to day too to-morrow too mithan forked post
khato masū rimtung khato ibisa yimna tsūnang
too cattle forked post too hither to the village drag "

The bull is then tied to the post with a tether of sword bean creeper, which is put round its neck by the sacrificer's son or brother. By this time it is evening. The next item is a short ceremonial pounding of rice. Pounding tables are set out in front of the sacrificer's house. The sacrificer's daughter or sister begins the pounding and says " *Thani*
" To day

lha asang lha etaori tūthi tsū "
too to-morrow too thus always we will pound "

The younger women of the clan then join in the pounding while the elder women walk round in a circle singing. The pounding tables are soon removed by the *tūmnakr* and all

¹ If the boar has tushes the lower jaw goes to the sacrificer's sister's son. The same applies to the boar killed on the second day.—J. P. M.

the women walk round singing of the wealth and prowess of the clan. As a reward each woman gets a drink of "madhu," a small piece of pork, a small onion, half a dried fish and a large leaf of fermented rice. All the young men present, both those of the sacrificer's clan and his *tūmnakr*, take the bull to the far end of the village and torture it by throwing it and dancing on it. To add to the confusion a free fight takes place, as near relations of the clansmen protect the bull and forcibly oppose those who are torturing it. It is then brought back and tied up to the forked post for the night.

Second Day—The remaining three pigs are caught and killed as before and singed and cut up by the *tūmnakr*. Boys and young men of the sacrificer's clan go out and bring in more wood. In the evening the bull is killed, the sacrificer remaining in his house where he cannot see it. The senior priest spears it behind the shoulder, and as it staggers boys of the clan slash at its legs with "daos," taking care, however, not to cut the leg through. The senior priest finally despatches it with a blow on the head from an axe bound round with *amcha* leaves. The meat is then divided up, the heart going to the sacrificer's mother and the stomach to the boys and men who have collected wood for him. Late at night the women of the sacrificer's clan, headed by two of their husbands in full dress, come to the sacrificer's house, which has been cleared for the occasion, and dance and sing till morning. Much "madhu" is distributed, and at second cock crow the sacrificer provides a meal and distributes meat all round. This supper is followed at dawn by a parting drink of warm "rohi madhu." The dancers are rewarded with a present of a small pig, salt, "madhu," rice and a dozen *chabili*, which they go off and divide up in the house of the oldest woman of the clan.

Third Day—The women of the sacrificer's clan come and dance again, and are entertained and receive the same presents as before, minus the pig.

Fourth Day—A final distribution of pork is made to old women of the sacrificer's clan, and friends and relations

are given presents of rice and meat. The hut is removed from the platform.

Fifth Day—The sacrificer offers a pig, a fowl and an egg in front of his granary, praying that *aren* may come to him and make good the heavy expenses of the sacrifice. On this day he sends members of his clan with complimentary presents of meat to the nearest village on either side, and they in turn give the emissaries *aoksa*,¹ and in some villages keep one day's *amung*.

Sixth Day—The sacrificer and his household all wash.

Seventh Day—The sacrificer offers a cock outside his house. He is *limung* till he has performed the *masulam waluk* ('offering to the bull's skull') at the next harvest, and cannot cohabit with his wife, or go near a dead body, or enter a house where there is a sick man for whom a ceremony has been performed, or eat beef or flour. For this ceremony he takes a little of the new crop and cooks some and pounds some into flour. On one side of the bull's skull he puts three leaves of cooked rice and on the other three leaves of meat. Having drawn a line with the flour across the forehead of the skull in silence, he plucks a fowl alive over it and says: "*I li kola metsutlunglao Menak anu*
' My house in salt lump is Lick bringing
rang Tenuktubak rang, techang techak rang, yimna
come Blind come, leg lame come, at my village,
telu sentapang "
all collect " Then he cuts the fowls throat with a piece of bamboo and takes the omens from the intestines in the usual way. Six days later his period of *limung* comes to an end as far as his fellow villagers are concerned, and twelve days later for strangers.

Preliminaries of Mithan Sacrifice

After an interval of not less than three years a man who has duly performed the bull sacrifice may proceed to the more important mithan sacrifice (*atsutsu*). But certain preliminaries must first be gone through. About a year and a half after the sacrifice of the bull, during the rains,

¹ See p. 185 *et passim*—J P M

he spits on a rupee and says "With this I will buy a mithan and sacrifice it" In the course of the following cold weather he buys a red or white cow or bull, which will eventually be killed to provide additional meat at the time of the mithan sacrifice. On the morning of the day following that on which he brings the animal to his house he gives it salt and says 'I have bought a present for the moon and sun' Should this animal die before the sacrifice a substitute must be bought. Six pigs, such as were killed at the bull sacrifice, must also be provided.

After the next harvest he calls the four clan priests to his house and a dozen or so of his *tūmnakr*, and an egg is offered, rice is dried and *madhu* made as before the bull sacrifice. He has probably previously arranged to buy some particular mithan at Chuchu Yimlang, Ungr or some other village which keeps them, and this is now brought to his village, but not to his house. It is tied up outside the "morung," and there the sacrificer goes with some experienced old men and makes a final examination of it to see that it has no "tabu" marks, curls of hair in the wrong place, and so on. It is then, if all is satisfactory, brought to the sacrificer's house, but just as it is going to be tied up he pretends to have changed his mind and sends it away again. After it has gone a little distance he again changes his mind and sends some *tūmnakr* after it to bring it back and tie it up. But even so it is not finally accepted, for it is watched, and if it should drop its excreta without going to the full length of its rope it is returned to the seller, for to buy it after such an ill omened act would be to court disaster. But if all goes well the sacrificer now pays over to the seller the agreed price, including in the money the rupee on which he spat. In addition, he gives to the seller and each of the men who have helped him to bring in the mithan a parcel of salt and a "dao" or a rupee. Before he can go the seller has one more duty to perform. The sacrificer takes the mithan to a spot just outside the village, where the seller pierces its nose with a sharp pointed bamboo and puts a string through the hole and round the horns. He then says to the mithan—for a

muthan is "like a man" and must be treated with consideration—"Do not be angry. You will get plenty to eat here and will be well looked after." He then takes his departure, having received a further fee of a parcel of salt and a cloth called *tsü 'ma me-üba sü* ('muthan's forehead covering cloth'). Meanwhile the *tümnakr* have been out and cut four canes. One cane is tied round the muthan's neck when it is brought back to the sacrificer's house after having had its nose pierced and three are twisted into ropes. Of the three ropes two will be used for the muthan and one kept by the sacrificer as an heirloom. The sacrificer then leads the muthan to the village spring, where he lets him drink and says "Always drink here," meaning that even when the muthan is dead its soul is always to come and drink there. Then he brings it back to his house and performs the final ceremony of plucking a chicken alive over it with the words "*Aor ashi chen-na h*

"Thief cheat money with bought

mechao Soba tiya na lhi-phen na nang lülamvü
is not Birth fortune by given because to you to offer
ho"

bought." The chicken's throat is then cut with a sharp piece of bamboo in the usual way and omens are taken from its entrails. This completes the preliminaries, and the ceremonies of the sacrifice proper begin after an interval of from one to six days.

The Muthan Sacrifice

First Day—The sacrificer first removes the nose string from the muthan and puts it in his house. Then his *tümnakr* build a little hut on his back platform, as was done for the bull sacrifice.

Second Day—The ceremonies closely resemble those which took place on the first day of the bull sacrifice. As before *tümnakr* bring in wood, three pigs are killed, two of the sacrificer's *tomba* go and bring in the forked post, which is set up by the priest with the same offerings and prayer, the cane is removed from the muthan's neck and a rope of sword bean creeper substituted, and there is the same formal

pounding of rice by women of the sacrificer's clan. The mithan is tortured by the clansmen and *tümnakr* of the sacrificer as follows. The two cane ropes, previously prepared by the *tümnakr*, are attached to the sword bean creeper collar, and the *tümnakr* holding one and clansmen the other lead the mithan away. At the extreme end of the village they trip it up with the ropes and dance on it and pound it with their fists. Near kinsmen of the sacrificer take the animal's part and something approaching a free fight ensues. The animal is then got on to its feet and led towards the sacrificer's house. After it has gone a little way it is again thrown and tortured. Then it is led straight towards the sacrificer's house. As it approaches, the ropes are held slackly, and if it goes on its way without guidance it is deemed a good omen. The bull killed in the first feast of merit was not considered worthy of an apology, but to the exhausted mithan the sacrificer says "*Nina nungo, thangarna nang khangshuo,*"

"I not, others you tortured,"

at the same time sprinkling water over its head from an *amcha* leaf cup. He then brings the nose string out of his house and laying it on the animal's forehead for a moment takes it back. The mithan is then tied up outside the house, and all who have assisted at its torture are rewarded with "*madhu*." The women dance and all the sacrificer's friends collect round fires outside the house and are regaled with "*madhu*" and pork.

Third Day—This is the great day, on the night of which the mithan is killed. Again the ceremonies resemble those which took place at the bull sacrifice. The remaining three pigs are killed in the morning. At night, when all is ready, the sacrificer, his wife, the senior clan priest and two *tomba*, all in full dress, come out of the house. The sacrificer and his wife sprinkle water and rice flour on the mithan's forehead, and say "*Thani tesen mechao*"

"To day new is not" (i.e. this is no new ceremony), and the sacrificer repeats the names of his ancestors who have displayed their wealth by this sacrifice in the past. The empty *amcha* leaves are tied on

to the post. Then the sacrificer plucks a cock alive over the mithan's head with the same formula and cuts the bird's throat and takes the omens from its intestines. Finally he takes a puppy from the priest, and, killing it with a cut of his "dao" on the head, says "*Lata, tsungi,*

"Moon, sun,

lima yunklung tsungrem, soba tiyaba, ni nang sowar"
field village spirits, birth fate, I to you am giving"

With these words he dashes the puppy into the mithan's face, so that it starts back in fright. Then, after walking once round the mithan swaggering, with his "dao" over his shoulder, and boasting of the wealth of his ancestors, he re-enters his house with his wife and *tomba*, calling back to the mithan as he does so "*Aba phasia wang*"

"My father seeking go"

(i.e. the soul of the mithan is to join his father's shadowy herd in the land of the dead). The mithan is then killed with horrible cruelty. Boys of the sacrificer's clan bring it to the ground by cutting the tendons of its legs, which are then tied together. The senior clan priest makes an incision in the skin behind the shoulder on the right side and pushes a pointed rice pounder home. He is usually a feeble old man, and someone stronger is allowed to help him at this point. But even so the death must be a slow one. Before life is extinct the sacrificer's brother hits the animal on the forehead with an axe bound round with *amcha* leaves. If blood runs from the animal's mouth it is a bad omen. The collar and cane ropes must be taken off the carcass by the sacrificer's son, or, failing a son, by a brother. The stomach is eaten by the clansmen that night and a cut from the haunch is given to the attendant priest. The rest of the carcass is left where it lies, and no one goes near it for fear the wrath of the *lotakr* ('sky folk') fall upon him, for the death of a mithan in this world has involved the death of one of them in the world above.

Meanwhile, as at the bull sacrifice, women of his clan have been dancing in the sacrificer's house. Before dawn he slips away into the jungle, taking with him a little bit of dried fish and a grain of raw husked rice. This he eats

on either side The messengers are given *aolsa* and the recipient villages keep one day's sabbath called *atsūsamung*

Concluding Ceremonies of the Mithan Sacrifice

Three or four months after the sacrifice the mithan's skull is brought from the "morung" either by the sacrificer or the senior clan priest, and is ornamented with plaited cane work across the forehead by a man of the sacrificer's clan The village keeps one day's sabbath called *atsūlam-anlakmung*

At the eating of the first fruits at the next harvest the sacrificer performs the *atsūlam ualuk* ceremony, which is identical with that described under *masūlam ualuk* After a further strict *limung* period of six days for his own village and twelve days for strangers he is free

Third Feast of Merit

Three years after doing the mithan sacrifice a man may give the third feast of merit (*aol khikha*—"pig giving"), at which about thirty pigs are killed In the rains before he gives a cow and a pig to each "khel" of his village as a preliminary present After harvest he takes all the men of his "khel" down and poisons a stream, drying the catch in preparation for the big feast He then builds a new platform behind his house When all is ready the sacrificer sends for four clan priests Two of them make "madhu" for him in a new pot and two dry rice The next two or three days are spent by the household pounding rice and preparing "madhu" The sacrificer and his wife, four priests and four *tūmnakr* set up to drain a basket of the "madhu" made by the priests and below it ten baskets of "madhu" made by the family An egg is offered by the senior priest and put into a little basket and tied on to the first basket Then, after one day's rest, the ceremonies proper begin

First Day—A little hut of thatching palm is built on the back platform

Second Day—The *tūmnakr* catch six or seven of the

owner's pigs. These and a bull or big cow are killed by the priests with the usual formula "Moon, sun, godlings of the village, birth fate, because you gave this we are offering it to you." One of the pigs must be a big boar, whose tusks go to the sacrificer's eldest sister's son. The head goes to his *tomba*, and three ribs from each flank to his wife's father. All the rest of the meat of the animals killed that day is cut up and stored in the hut on the back platform for future distribution. Men and boys of the sacrificer's clan meanwhile collect reeds and dry bamboo to burn at the dance, and other boys and men collect firewood for cooking, the members of each *khel* piling it in a separate heap in front of the house. In the evening women of the sacrificer's clan come in full dress and sing and pound rice outside his house. After a few minutes' pounding he gives to each a small onion with the leaves attached to stick in her ear. Later each gets a dried fish, and finally, after more singing, a drink of 'rohu madhu,' a piece of raw pig skin and a leaf parcel containing meat and rice.

Third Day—The *tumnakr* catch all the remaining pigs and lay them out trussed up in front of the house. While the priests are being called the sacrificer and one of his *tomba* sit down facing one another in the outer room of the house. A *tumnakr* hands each a leaf-cup of "madhu," which they exchange. The *tomba* then says

"*Kā tomba, kānella thani lha asang lha lma*
 "My friend, we two to-day too to-morrow too field
yimkung tāpong ibi-lo ita towi thung chaka yunga
 village good this at thus eating time eating drinking
liro, atir arr lakhsang akhu lakh sang metem sowang"
 will be, and cane shoot *Ficus* shoot like be"

With these words he sprinkles a little "madhu" on the ground, and, after both have drunk, ties the cups to the wall of the house. The pigs are killed by the priests with the usual formula. The head of the biggest goes to the sacrificer's wife's sister, and all the rest of the meat is stored in the hut. During the day two men of the sacrificer's clan and two of his *tumnakr* begin to carve the ornamental cross-

beem (*sangyanglu*) which the giving of this feast entitles him to fix to the front of his house. Late at night women of his clan come and dance in his house and are given presents of pork. Outside the house men of each "khel" of the village dance in full dress round two fires which have been lighted by a clan priest with flint and steel. A young man of the owner's clan goes round the dancers holding a large cylindrical lump of salt which has been specially dried for two years till it is as hard as a brick. This he puts to the mouth of each dancer, who may have as much as he can bite off. The owner then gives a small pig to one of the priests, who burns it alive in the fire. This is eaten by the priests. The sacrificer's wife passes "madhu" all round, taking care that a little is left over at the end. This she pours on the ground, saying "The whole village could not finish the 'madhu' I have made." All then disperse, taking with them presents of meat, small live pigs and salt.

Fourth Day—The remaining meat is distributed, a portion, together with a small basket of rice, being given to every household in the village.

Fifth Day—The giving of the feast carries with it the right to add overhanging eaves to the front of the house. On this day the centre post which is to support this porch is dragged in by all the men of the village, a "nahor" tree being selected if possible. The necessary alterations are begun and the hut on the back platform is cleared away. In the evening the sacrificer plucks a fowl alive in front of his house and prays that he and his household may be free from illness.

Sixth Day—The sacrificer and his *tūmnaḥ* go and bathe.

Seventh Day—Presents of meat are sent, as usual, to the next village along the range in either direction.

The sacrificer is *limung* for thirty days after this ceremony. He may not cohabit with his wife or go near a house in which a dead body is lying or a ceremony for sickness is being performed.

Fourth Feast of Merit.

This last feast of merit is a mithan sacrifice called *tstû-matsû*, of which the ceremonial is identical with that of the *atsûtsû* sacrifice described above. This concludes the series, for a Mongsen man does not go on sacrificing mithan as often as he can afford it, as a Chongli man is permitted to do.

APPENDIX II

MENSURATION

Points of the Compass

THE only points of the compass for which terms exist in Ao dialects are East and West. These are as follows —

East—*Anü adoklen* C, *tsungi tsükhachen* M,
(i e “sun rising place”)

West—*Anü lolen* C, *tsungi wachen* M,
(i e “sun setting place”)

Other directions can only be vaguely expressed as “towards sunset” or “towards sunrise”. There is no way accurately of indicating North, South, North-east, South-east and so on.

Measures of Weight

All weighing is done with weighing beams of the bismer type, with a fixed fulcrum. A basket tray holds the object to be weighed, and the beam is of some heavy wood. The standard is one *songti*—a weight of about eight pounds. There is a certain variation from village to village, but each village has a standard bismer recording one *songti*, which is kept, in Chongli villages, in the *Putir Ungr*'s house and in Mongsen villages in the *Sungba*'s house. If it becomes necessary to make a new standard to replace one broken or burnt it must be passed by a committee of village elders.

The subdivisions of the *songti* are as follows —

One *pouwakapba* (C), *terama* (M) = half a *songti*

One *tsümagong* (C), *pouwaratang* (M) = a third of a *songti*

One *terolung* (C), *changkolung* (M) = a quarter of a *songti*

One *terolungatang* (C), *changkolungchatang* (M) = an eighth of a *songti*

A *terolung* or *changkolung* is the weight of salt or meat due to a man for a day's wage

Linear Measure

Long distances are described in terms of the number of pipes which a traveller would smoke in covering them. Ao tobacco burns slowly and "one pipe" is about five or six miles. Nowadays distances are often estimated in miles. A man who has not the milestones on a Government bridle path to guide him invariably guesses wrong, and a village which is said to be two miles away is often about four. Shorter distances such as those up from the fields are stated as being so many "rice dumps" (*tsophülen* C, *chakmülen* M) referring to the temporary sheds for depositing rice constructed at stages on the path from the fields to the village. Naturally the steeper the path the shorter the stages.

For yet shorter lengths, such as the dimensions of a house, the length of the outstretched arms (*am* C, *anam* M) is the standard. Similarly for small measurements appropriate parts of the body are used. The terms are as follows —

From the middle of the chest to the end of the fingers —
tālhu tsūma (C and M)

The length of the arm from the shoulder = *tuben* C,
tālhet M

A cubit = *tsolap* C, *tsūlap* M

Stretch of thumb and first finger = *akhatsū* C, *kāptsū* M

Stretch of thumb and middle finger = *akhalang* C, *kāp-lang* M

One finger breadth = *tāmuyung kha lam* C, *tāmuyung a lama* M

Two fingers' breadth = *tāmuyung ana lam* C, *tāmuyung anet lama* M

The stretch of the thumb and middle finger and finger breadths are units in common use. For instance, a stick would be measured in this way, or to ascertain the size of a pig the girth would be taken with a slip of bamboo and the slip in turn measured. For the circumference of small

A *purama molok* holds about 6 lbs of rice and is a man's wage for a full day's work. An *antsu changko* is in theory the value of an egg and is the wage for half a day's work.

The Mongsen system of standard baskets is the same as that of the Chongli, but the relative capacity of the different baskets is somewhat different. For loins they use a *chaktam meluk*, holding about 40 lbs of rice. For sale the standard is the *yimkhi*, holding about 30 lbs. The table runs as follows —

One *yimkhi* = two *pua meluk*

One *pua meluk* = three *changkut meluk* (a day's wage) or two *pua ratang molok*

One *changkut meluk* = two *piya meluk* (half a day's wage)

In practice both Chongli and Mongsen usually give rather more than half a full day's wage for half a day's work if a man knocks off at the midday meal, for more work is done in the morning than in the afternoon.

Measures of Time

Long periods of time are measured in generations (*phusu* C, *wu* M). Among the Chongli the term of office of each set of elders is a generation, but among the Mongsen the term is used as vaguely as it is in English. Like the Government of India, the Ao tribe recognizes two years—a financial year and an ordinary year. The year by which debts are reckoned begins from the lunar month following that in which the *Moatsu* festival is held, and the ordinary year from the first eating of the new crop. The two main divisions of the year are the cold weather (*asakwa* C, *atsak-yim* M) and the hot weather (*lamluwa* C, *alamyim* M). The former begins when dew is first seen in the morning and pipits appear on migration. Reckoned by months, it is supposed to last from the sixth month after *Moatsu* to the seventh month after harvest. When the voice of the cuckoo (*osotipung* C, *phakhophakho* M) is heard in the land the hot season begins, and it is time to sow the fields.¹ About

¹ This is the same bird as the *Lasupapo* which tells Semas when to sow. Cf. *The Sema Nagas* p. 62. Both the Ao and Sema names are derived from its note.—J. P. M.

this bird a story is told. There were once two brothers, Osotipung and Kamsingtakba, whose father was killed on a raid. He appeared to them after his death in the form of a bird and said he would always come and tell them when it was time to sow their crops. That is why he comes every year and calls "*Osotipung, Osotipung*."

The Ao month (*yita* C, *lata* M) is, of course, a lunar month. No one can say off hand how many there are in a year. Only a few months have names, the nameless ones being reckoned as so many months after a named month or described according to the agricultural operations carried on in them. The Chongli usually reckon from the following months —

Chishamyi ("the month when carrying-baskets are taken down from the walls") This is the month when harvest begins.

Thangmuchishang yi ('give me-rice-quickly month") The month when men, long hungry, are greedy for their food. It comes immediately after harvest.

Moatsü yi ("Moatsü month") This is the end of March and the beginning of April. This is the tenth month from that in which the earliest fields were reaped.

Terakha yita ("the eleventh month"), 11th from harvest.

Chamecha yi ('Chamecha month") The month of the Chamecha ceremony and the second after *Moatsü*.

Achitaka yita ('the watching month") The month immediately before harvest, when all are eagerly watching the ripening crop.

The Mongsen are even worse off, having names only for four months. These are —

Chalibang lata ("the month of new rice")

• *Urangba lata* ("the fencing month") In this month village fences are repaired.

Moatsüba lata ('Moatsü month") In this month, the eleventh from *Chalibang lata*, the *Moatsü* festival is held.

Am lata ('the month of am leaves") This is at mid-summer.

The phases of the moon are named as follows —

The Chongli call the night before the new moon *Luangkam*

yi ("Lungkam moon") because it is believed that the moon is visible from the highest point of Lungkam village a night earlier than it can be seen elsewhere. The next night is called *yim yi* ('villages' moon'), because on that night all Ao villages can see the new moon. From this night to the end of the first quarter the moon is *jamerang*. During the second quarter, till full moon (*yita naritep*) it is *manglo lepma* ('divided head'). The first two or three nights after full moon are called *anli mi* ('sun changing place') because the sun sets as the moon rises and rises as the moon sets. Then comes the night called *chili lendang* ('girls' house road showing'), when the young men have no difficulty in finding their way to the girls' sleeping quarters. But this is followed by *mokok tsuk* ('knee jabs'), when the path is not so clear and bucks hurt their knees on the high thresholds of the girls' houses. The rest of the month is called *yi ma* ('moon waning'), till it disappears on the last night, called *yi rem* ('moon finished').

The Mongsen have fewer terms. The moon when it first appears is *lata tesen*. For the next two nights it is *yim lata* ('villages' moon'), and from then to full moon *lata lanu* ('unripe moon'). Full moon (*lunglung metem lata*) is followed by two or three nights of *lata wayi* ('moon changing place'), corresponding to the Chongli *anli mi*. After these nights come one called *mokol tsukya* ('knee jabs') and one called *chili lentang* ('girls' house road showing'). Why the Mongsen order of these two nights is the opposite of the Chongli is not explained. There are no terms apparently for the rest of the month, till the dark of the moon which is called *lata maro* ('bad moon').

The Ao day begins from first cock-crow and is divided into the following periods —

First cock crow = *mizung ankhung* C, *menang ankhung* M

Second cock crow = *anapenbuba ankhung* C, *anelpen ankhung* M

Third cock crow = *asampen ankhung* C and M

The rising of the morning star = *atu mitsuk* C and M

The dark time just before dawn = *anepthang yakta* C, *nibayen metsukta* M

- The first glimmer of light = *anepthang* C, *ubayen* M
 Sunrise = *anü atuk* C, *tsungi tsüla* M.
 About 9 o'clock = *alu yu usep* C, *alunungr waosep* M
 (i e the time when all the workers have gone to the fields)
 Midday = *anchung mishi* C, *acham naru shir* M (i e the time for eating the midday meal)
 Early afternoon = *anchung manga* C, *acham naru manga* M
 (i e "the midday meal is over")
 About 4 o'clock = *nikungthung* C, *yachamthung* (i e "time for sunset")
 About 5 o'clock = *akpu arisü misü* C, *aokpok risü* M
 (i e "pigs' food preparing time")
 Just before sunset = *an athu* C, *an lha* M (i e "fowls' roosting time")
 Sunset = *anü uao* C, *tsungi waogo* M
 Early night = *amang* C, *mangogo* M
 About 10 o'clock = *ziki sena ao* C, *ayipsen* (i e the time when young men go to the girls' sleeping quarters)
 About 11 o'clock = *li chirep* C, *aki chirep* M (i e "house shutting time")
 Midnight = *mechang tsupogo* C, *tiyprep* M (i e "all are asleep")
 From midnight to first cock crow = *aoteremchang* C, *aya-teramchang* M (i e "dead of night")

APPENDIX III

ADMINISTRATION

A BRIEF account of the lines on which the Naga Hills are administered may be of some interest. The tract forms a District of the Province of Assam and is divided into two Subdivisions. A Deputy Commissioner, with headquarters at Kohima, is in charge of the whole District and performs, in addition to his more general supervision, the duties of Subdivisional Officer of the Kohima Subdivision. Under him he has a Subdivisional Officer with headquarters at Mokokchung, 87 miles distant from Kohima by bridle-path. Kohima Subdivision is the bigger of the two and contains Angamis, Kaoha Nagas, Kukis, Kacharis, Rengmas, Lhotas, Semas and Southern Sangtams. Mokokchung Subdivision contains Semas, Lhotas, Aos, Konyaks, Changs and one village of Sangtams. The duties of the Deputy Commissioner and his Subdivisional Officer are to assess and collect taxes, settle disputes and look after the well being of the area in general. Taxation is among the Aos and most other tribes a levy of Rs 2 (i.e. about two and eightpence) a year on every inhabited house. Remission is granted to headmen, Government servants whose pay is below Rs 30 a month, all old and infirm persons, and all who went with the Naga Labour Corps to France. Registers are kept showing the total number of houses, the number of revenue-paying houses, and the number of tax-free houses in each village. These are checked and kept up to date by the Deputy Commissioner and Subdivisional Officer and their Assistants, who periodically go round and count the houses in the villages, reviewing old remissions and granting new ones where necessary. The house tax is actually collected and brought in by the headmen, who receive 12½ per cent of

Sessions Judge The Indian Penal Code and the Codes of Criminal and Civil Procedure are *not in force in the Naga Hills*, the Magistrates being required to administer justice in the spirit of the Codes and not by their letter A staff of interpreters is maintained whose duty it is to translate from the Naga dialects into Naga Assamese, the *lingua franca* of the District, and to advise on custom They are very carefully picked men and the posts are much sought after, for though the pay is not high, the prestige is great Care is taken that no tribal interests are overlooked For instance, at Mokokchung there are interpreters from every tribe in the Subdivision Among the Ao interpreters the interests of Ancients and Christians of Chongli, Mongsen and Chingki and of each phratry are represented In the settlement of cases and disputes tribal custom is followed except where it is repugnant to our sense of justice For instance, a thief is usually punished by being made to pay the customary compensation, but an habitual thief, who has expended all his own and his relations' property on payments of this kind, is no longer trussed up and left for the night on a bed of stinging leaves, he is sent to jail instead Marriages according to Naga custom are, of course, recognized as valid and no attempt is made to interfere with the tribal system of inheritance Head hunting and such grossly cruel practices as torturing mithan and plucking fowls alive are forbidden, but wherever possible the principle is strictly observed of interfering with local custom as little as possible In dealing with disputes even the customary procedure is followed as far as possible For instance, in an Ao village, cases, save when so serious as to make an immediate report to the Subdivisional Officer imperative, are heard and adjudicated upon by the council of elders, a practice which helps to prevent the decay of their authority and sense of responsibility A case is ordinarily only brought to the Subdivisional Officer if the council cannot settle it or if one of the parties is dissatisfied with the decision arrived at While, on the one hand, really perverse decisions by the elders are caused to recoil upon their heads, on the other hand, frivolous appeals against their findings are not encouraged

Aos have no hereditary chiefs, and the council of elders is too large and cumbersome a body to act as a go between between the village and officials. Headmen are therefore selected for this purpose, a small village having one and a big village up to five or six. These are in practice chosen by the village and approved by the Subdivisional Officer, men being selected who are of good position in the village and who can state a case clearly. They can be dismissed for misconduct, but usually hold office till death or till they become too infirm to carry on. An Ao village is a self contained unit, of which the ground within the boundary is periodically purified by ceremonies and out of which no one may go on *amung* days.¹ Where therefore, as among the Aos, both Christians and non Christians live side by side within such a unit, problems arise which need careful handling. Ao Christians, like recent converts all over the world, are inclined to hold the curiously illogical belief that because they were wrong yesterday they must be right to day. They are rather given therefore to riding roughshod over the feelings of those who still hold the faith of their forefathers, and their conscience is always forbidding them to join in this or that part of village life. The principle followed by Government is that the adherents of the rival religions must tread on each other's corns as little as possible. The battle over the question of *amungs* was a stern one. The Christians said that they had fifty two Sabbaths to keep in the year and would not observe *amungs* as well. The Ancients said whether or not the Christians kept their Sabbaths was their own concern, but that the "genna" was equally broken whether a Christian or an Ancient left the village on an *amung* day. Eventually it was decided that the Christians in each village must observe a reasonable number of *amungs*. This compromise has worked well on the whole. In practice all *amungs* are not equally strict, and when the question as to how many days in the year the Christians are to observe arises in any village the two parties meet and decide on what the principal ones are, and these the Christians keep. Over *saru*² there was another battle, the Christians not wishing to subscribe at all

¹ See p 82 n 3 *supra* —J P M

² See p 186 *supra* —J P M

Some of the rice collected goes to pay for animals killed at sacrifices and some goes to pay for *aksu* and other presents. It was finally ruled that while the Christians need not subscribe to any Ancient ceremony, they must pay their share of secular expenses. The practice now is for two or three Christians to attend while the *saru* accounts are being made up, and for a smaller subscription, only enough to cover their share of secular expenses, to be levied from Christian households. Sometimes Christians try to evade their purely civic duties on the plea that they are a people apart who no longer have anything to do with old customs of any kind. These duties they are made to carry out. Occasionally too they deliberately offend Ancient sentiment. For instance, knowing it is "tabu" to bring bear's meat into Chungtia,¹ some Christians one day came home with some openly, "to see what would happen." What happened was that they had to pay a fine of pork, which was shared by the elders and the Christians who had not made idiots of themselves. From the above account one would believe that all the provocation comes from one side. I am afraid it does, for I can recollect no occasion on which a Church service has been interfered with or Christian sentiment deliberately offended by those of the other faith.² On the whole, however, with give and take, both parties usually manage to live amicably enough side by side. If, as sometimes happens, a village is rent with ceaseless quarrels, the Christians are given a new

¹ A "tabu" peculiar to Chungtia, Aliba and Kinungr, I think.—J. P. M.

² I can think of one, but only one, instance which occurred during the time I was Subdivisional Officer of Mokokchung myself. This was a practice which Mubongchokut village started of going to collect the leaves of the "tonkopät" (*Livistona jenkinsiana*) palms, for thatching, from the Mission compound at Impur during Sunday services. The village had sold a plot of land to the American Baptist Mission, but retained the right to the "tonkopät" trees. By my time they had discovered that they regretted their sale of the land and did not care for the Mission as a neighbour. They asked me more than once if it could not be undone and the Mission removed, but were told that it was too late. Later I had complaints from the Mission that the Aos of Mubongchokut had taken to coming to collect their thatching leaves every Sunday with as much "ho ho ing" as they could during service in the Mission building, past which they carried them. The Aos replied that they had reserved the right to collect their thatch when they pleased, a statement which was incontestable, but as their collecting it on Sundays only was obviously done merely to annoy. I told them they had better give it up, which they did. Apart from this incident my experience tallies entirely with Mr. Mills'.—J. H. H.

site for themselves near at hand. Those who wish may go and those who prefer to stay behind may do so. Those who go have no *amungs* to observe and no *saru* to pay in their new home. Those who remain behind, presumably only Ancients, or very half hearted Christians, have to observe all *amungs*, pay all *saru* and observe all traditional customs.

Foreigners, such as Gurkhalis, are not allowed to settle in the Naga Hills without a pass, and such passes are only granted under very special circumstances and then only permit their possessor to join one of the recognized foreign settlements.¹ Further, no Naga may alienate his land to a foreigner without the express consent of the Deputy Commissioner.

Visitors to the Naga Hills are always struck by the blankets of scarlet broadcloth which they see worn. These are presents from Government. An interpreter receives one every two years and a headman one every three years. Friendly chiefs from across the frontier receive similar blankets at longer intervals. Not only are they enormously admired, for red is easily the favourite colour of most Nagas, but they are highly prized as the insignia of friendship with the British Government, and their occasional distribution helps greatly to maintain amicable relations between the officials of the District and the independent villages with which they are in touch.

¹ The only foreign settlement in the Ao country is at Mokokchung —
J P M

APPENDIX IV

THE EFFECTS OF MISSION WORK UPON THE AOS

IN the census of 1921 more than a quarter of the Ao tribe returned themselves as Christians. No account therefore of this people can be complete that does not include an attempted estimate of the social effects upon them of the teaching of the American Baptist Mission.¹ My remarks are based on countless conversations with both Christian and non Christian Aos and on five years' close personal observation. But to criticize, in however friendly a spirit, the work of any particular Mission is to risk being dubbed an unbeliever, an anti Christian and an opponent of Mission work of every kind. May I therefore, in all sincerity and humility, apply to myself the opening passage of Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*? 'For my Religion, though there be several Circumstances that might persuade the World I have none at all, (as the general scandal of my Profession, the natural course of my Studies, the indifferency of my Behaviour and Discourse in matters of Religion, neither violently Defending one, nor with that common ardour and contention Opposing another,) yet, in despite hereof, I dare without usurpation assume the honourable Stile of a Christian. Not that I meerly owe this Title to the Font, my Education, or the clime wherein I was born, (as being bred up either to confirm those Principles my Parents instilled into my unwary Understanding, or by a general consent proceed in the Religion of my Country,) but having in my riper years and confirmed Judgement seen and

¹ It is only fair to say that one or two members of the Mission—and they those with most experience—are beginning to see some of the mistakes the Mission has made and to regret some of the effects of its teaching. But these are few and not clamorous, and the Mission as a whole shows no signs of changing its methods.—J P M

examined all, I find myself obliged by the Principles of Grace, and the Law of mine own Reason, to embrace no other Name but this Neither do herein my zeal so far make me forget the General Charity I owe unto Humanity, as rather to hate than pity Turks Infidels and (what is worse,) Jews, rather contenting myself to enjoy that happy Style, than maligning those who refuse so glorious a Title "

An arrangement, designed to prevent overlapping, has long been in existence by which definite Mission fields in Assam have been assigned to the Anglican and various Protestant Churches The Naga Hills District falls to the share of the American Baptists and they have long been at work among the Aos After some years' teaching in the plains, varied later by occasional visits to the outer range, Dr Clark of the American Baptist Missionary Society moved up to Molungyimchen in the spring of 1876 ¹ There was a split in the village and in the autumn Dr Clark, taking with him his converts and a few families from Merangkong, founded a new village, Molungyimsen, some nine miles along the ridge to the north east To reside in the hills outside the borders of British Territory was a plucky thing to do But the outer range is within striking distance from Sibsagor and its inhabitants had always been in close touch with the plains It was not till the Ao country was finally pacified that the Mission were able to move into the interior of the hills Molungyimsen was then abandoned, and the present station at Impur founded in 1894

In considering the spread of Christianity among the Aos one of the first questions an impartial enquirer asks himself is Why does an Ao give up his old religion and become a Christian? Clearly there is no answer which will cover all cases Many do so I doubt not, because they believe in the truth of the Gospel Message But many, on the other hand, have far different motives A significant remark was made to me one day by an elderly man He had long had a sore on his foot and I asked him how he was He

¹ *Life* Mrs M M Clark 4 Corner 11 India p 15 Mrs Clark uses the Assamese name Dekha Haimong for Molungyimchen Her book is valuable as a first hand account of the early days and early methods and ideals of the Mission and I shall refer to it frequently —J P V

replied "I have become a Christian, but my foot is no better" On another occasion I expressed surprise at a man who almost alone in his village was not a Christian. He said "I used to be rich and I was told I should become richer still if I became a Christian. I became one. But instead of growing richer I grew poorer. So I have given it up and I am getting on quite nicely again now." Yet another man who longed for children was assured by an Ao pastor that he would become a father if he would only be baptized. These are examples and not isolated instances, and represent a lamentably common frame of mind. Christianity is only too often regarded by the Ao as a sort of patent medicine, a dose of which without much after treatment will cure him of and protect him from all ills, bodily and spiritual in this world and the next. Two causes operate to bring this about. The American Missionaries themselves have their hands full with organizing and superintending the work, and most of the actual teaching in the villages has to be left in the hands of Ao pastors. These are fishers of men and they are not always particular what bait they use.¹ They are keen to baptize new converts and are apt to make that their sole object. In one village recently the pastor resigned because he had baptized the whole village and regarded his task as finished. In vain the Missionary pointed out that his work had only just begun. He simply could not see it and refused to withdraw his resignation. Another cause of hasty acceptance of the forms of Christianity is the teaching of the Mission on Hell fire. The only Missionary with whom I have discussed the matter at length informed me that he believed and taught that all unconverted persons, even if through no fault of their own they had had no chance of hearing of Christianity, would inevitably burn in Hell for

¹ In the early days of the Subdivision in the nineties I think there was a smallpox about it. A native evangelist doubtless desiring to

Make all people though against
Their consciences turn into saints

either threatened a village with smallpox if it failed to accept his teaching or tried to cajole it into doing so by an offer of immunity. The smallpox attacked the village which had neglected his words with some violence. This sort of miracle proved unacceptable to the authorities and the evangelist had to return to the plains whence he had come.—J H H

ever and ever.¹ The seeds of this teaching fall on a fruitful soil among the Aos, for they find in it only a confirmation of their traditional belief in a great fire (*Molomi*) which is to end the world.² All Ao Christians firmly believe that their non-Christian brethren are doomed to this terrible fate, and the non-Christians are naturally inclined to think there may be something in it. It is therefore not uncommon, I am told, for a man deliberately to remain a non-Christian and have a good time till he grows old or gets ill. Then he becomes a Christian, and thereby, as he thinks, avoids Hell.³ A religion so easily assumed can be as easily discarded, and one finds many men who have changed their faith as often as seven or eight times, or even more. A man will become a (nominal) Christian and be baptized. Then his soul yearns for "madhu"⁴ and, since anyone

¹ I do not know if all the Missionaries in the Naga Hills hold this view. I understand that the Baptist Community permits considerable diversity of belief among its adherents.—J. P. M.

An exceptionally intelligent Naga once came to me and asked me if I would give him a true answer to an important question. He seemed for some reason to think it one on which I should be disinclined to speak frankly, though he admitted that he had no reason to suppose I had ever deceived him. When I promised either to tell him the truth to the best of my ability or to refuse to answer at all, he asked, "Is it true, or is it not, that all persons who are not Christians will burn for ever in undying fire after their death, whatever sort of lives they may have led?" I replied that I believed that it was untrue and that a man who had led a good life but had not been a Christian was as little likely to suffer from Hell fire as one who had. He answered that this was not enough; was I certain that what the Christians had told him was untrue, and could I assure him of it as a fact, as, if there were any doubt at all, he thought it would be safer to turn Christian and so secure himself from the danger at the cost of giving up his present ways as the lesser of two evils. Apart from this fear of Hell, he said, he had no desire at all to become a Christian, but the contrary. All I could answer was that I had never had any reason to suppose that those who taught this doctrine had yet obtained any first hand knowledge of its truth, and that if it did turn out to be true we would suffer in company, since I did not believe it, and if that were part of Christianity I at least was no Christian, and would sooner burn than subscribe to it.—J. H. H.

² See p. 100 *supra*. The Mission have used this word *Molomi* as a translation of Hell fire in their Ao version of the Gospels.—J. P. M.

The Burmese believe in the periodic destruction of the world sometimes by fire (Sangernano, *Burmese Empire*, Ch. V).—J. H. H.

³ By no means all tremble at the thought of Hell. A Chang, when talking to me recently of the visit to him of some Ao pastors, said: "Who knows whether what they say is really true? No one has come back from the dead to tell them what the next world is like. Even if their words are true, am I a coward that I should fear to join my father and my mother and suffer whatever torments they may be suffering? If they can bear them, cannot I?"—J. P. M.

⁴ *I.e.* rice beer, the ordinary drink of the unconverted Ao. See p. 140.—J. P. M.

who touches alcohol is expelled from the Baptist community, he often goes the whole hog and joins the non-Christians again. Later he may change his mind, give up his "madhu" and heathen practices and be readmitted into the Baptist Church.¹ This idea that a man can change his religion readily is a novel one to the Ao and entirely foreign to his old ways of thinking. Whatever may be the faults of the Ao religion, everyone, till the Missionaries came, believed in it, and it permeated every part of life. Now side by side with sincere Christianity and sincere Animism there has arisen Agnosticism and total lack of any religion. How serious the evil is may be judged from the fact that in the census of 1921 1180 persons returned themselves as "sitters in the middle," people with no religion at all. They consisted of people who had left or been turned out of the Baptist community, and who had as yet neither gravitated back to Animism nor been received again into the Church. These alone are equal to more than an eighth of the total number of Christians. But they are only the people whom the census caught on the way, as it were, between the two religions. Add to them the far greater number who have definitely returned to their old religion or who have re-embraced Christianity after one or more lapses, and one can realize the commonness of an unstable, or, indeed, at times flippant, attitude of mind. This does not fail to have an effect on the tribe as a whole, and a feeling is spreading that it does not matter much what a man believes, or what set of customs he follows—for Christianity, like Animism, is spoken of as *yimsu*, a "set of customs," and to many, I fear, it means little else. Think what England would be like if a large proportion of the population was continually fluctuating backwards and forwards between Mohammedanism, say, and Christianity!

This is not the place to discuss the effect of the teaching of the Mission on the soul of the Ao, save in so far as that effect is mirrored in his social life. Certainly on the whole

¹ An old Ao headman of my acquaintance thus changed his creed six times in three years doing roughly six months each way, turn and turn about.—J H H

Christian Aos are more truthful and honest than the non-Christians, and they are less vindictive and quarrelsome, save in matters of religion, and less keen on getting the offender punished as heavily as possible when sinned against. In sexual morality a comparison is harder. Non-Christian Aos who carry on pre-marital liaisons cannot be termed immoral, for they are not sinning against their conscience or moral code. When a Christian does so he is behaving immorally, and youthful liaisons are not infrequent among them, though very far from being the normal practice, as among the Animists. But among the Christians liaisons which, from the Ao point of view, are incestuous, are by no means unknown, whereas it is very rarely that a non-Christian, for all his laxity, is unable to curb his passions towards a woman whom he addresses as sister. After marriage the Christians are stricter than the heathen, though divorces are pretty frequent and often take place for very trivial reasons. A curious thing I have frequently noticed is that Christians tend to lose their sense of humour. They take themselves very seriously and are apt to go about with long faces.¹ To test my judgment I made an experiment. One evening I walked down the long main street of Merangkong while many people were sitting about outside their houses. From the expression on their faces and their rather dowdy² appearance I was able to pick out

¹ Cf Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 66. He relates how some of the Ancients of Fiji annoyed neighbours embracing Christianity by sending them looking glasses in order to enable them "to practise before a glass how to put on a sanctimonious look, like a Wesleyan native minister." Why Christianity should be so associated with gloom in the native mind I am not sure, but Sawyer (*op. cit.*, p. 315) may afford an explanation, perhaps, by inference. He writes "The Tagbauas are very fond of music and dancing . . . This dancing seemed to me a very innocent amusement, but I was sorry to find that the missionary took a different view. He associated the dances with heathen rites and forbade them, confiscating the dearly bought gongs of the converts, as he said they were used to call up evil spirits. However, I observed that he had hung up the largest gong to serve as a church bell, after having sprinkled it with holy water. I remembered having read how Moravian missionaries in Greenland put a stop to the dancing which formerly enlivened the long dark winter of that desolate region, and I asked myself why the Christian missionary . . . must forbid his converts to indulge in such a healthful and harmless recreation, in both cases almost the sole possible amusement. I could see no reason why the heathen should have all the fun." It is the peculiar privilege of professors of Christianity to see in the gods, be they good or bad, of other religions, the devils of their own.—J. H. H.

² Naga ornaments are discouraged among Christians.—J. P. M.

a large number of Christians without making a single mistake. Cleanliness is said to be next to godliness, and the Mission have throughout insisted on the importance of washing. The results have been good. Though all Animists are not dirty and all Christians are not clean, yet the average Christian is distinctly cleaner than the average non-Christian, and this has reduced skin diseases and other such troubles in their community.

Certain aspects of the teaching of the American Baptist Mission are especially important from a sociological point of view. From the time when Mr Perrine and Mr Haggard joined the Mission in about 1892 all converts have been strictly forbidden to touch alcohol in any form.¹ Anyone who transgresses this law is expelled from the community.² Nothing in Christianity looms as large in the Ao mind as this prohibition. Teetotalism is to the ordinary convert the outstanding sign of Christianity, and an Ao Christian, when asked his religion, often defines himself, through what he considers to be the essential, simply as a "non drinker of 'madhu'". Even in the celebration of the Lord's Supper unfermented American grape juice is used,³ and the average Ao does not realize that Our Lord at the Institution used fermented wine, or that He turned water into wine at the marriage in Cana of Galilee. The word used for the grape juice partaken of at the Celebrations of the Lord's Supper is *tsükmenatsü tzü*, a term which carries no implication of fermentation. The same word is everywhere used to trans

¹ Vide Clark *op cit*, pp 139 and 140—J P M

² That prohibition is by no means a necessary concomitant of a firm Protestant faith is shown by a letter from Cromwell to the Governor of Edinburgh Castle, dated September 12th 1650. He said "Your pretended fear lest error should step in is like the man who would keep all wine out of the country lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy to deprive a man of his natural liberty upon a supposition he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, judge"—J P M

Writing in the *Baptist Missionary Review* for April 1925 (p 147) the Rev J F Tanguist says "I have seen no pressure brought to bear on the Christians to abstain from drinking 'zu' on the part of missionaries. I can only confess that this statement appears to me to be disingenuous—J H H

³ Baptists are not alone in this attitude. In the account of a United Methodist Mission in China occurs the following "Immediately following this service came a sacramental service. Tiny cups were distributed, and in place of wine tea was used." Comment would be out of place here—J P M

late *olios* in the New Testament.¹ There is therefore more than a tendency for the Ao to think that the *tsukmenatsü tzü* of Our Lord's day was the same as the unfermented grape-juice with which he is familiar. I have often talked to the Missionaries about this rule, and they have always based their Manichæan attitude towards alcohol not on Scripture, but on a conviction that social benefits accrue from it. No "madhu" means more rice to eat,² and no drunkenness means fewer quarrels and less sexual immorality. This may be true, but there remains the danger of secret drinking (entailing hypocrisy), and the adoption of evil substitutes for the comparatively harmless rice-beer.³

Familiar from of old with the idea of *amung* days the Ao readily accepts teaching which enjoins strict observance of the Sabbath. On such a day, if he be a Christian, he does not work at all. If it happens that on a Sunday a herd of wild pig is located in a favourable position, and a chance, which may not occur again, is seen of surrounding and wiping out the pests and so of saving the growing rice, the Christians invariably remain at home and refuse to co-operate on that day with the non-Christians in an enterprise planned for the common good of the village. I have even known them refuse to go down with the rest of the village and help to drive off elephants which were actually in the crops, because it was the Sabbath. Averse though they are to observing heathen *amungs* by staying at home on such days, they have no hesitation in compelling, in the rare instances where they are able to do so, their fellow villagers of the old religion to observe Sundays. In one small village, where the Christians were in a great majority and had the whip hand, they fined some non-Christians on one occasion for going down on a Sunday to look at their traps. The traps were noose-traps, but it did not matter if a deer

¹ Save that in 1 Peter iv 3 *οἰνοφλυγίας* is translated *yí zumogo* ("drank rice beer")—J. P. M.

² The Ao has ample rice both to eat and to use in making rice beer. A Christian, with no expenditure on Feasts of Merit or fermented liquor, is apt to make a groaning granary his ideal. The pursuit of wealth may become the curse of Ao Baptists, as it has been of so many Protestant communities—J. P. M.

³ See p. 147 *supra*—J. P. M.

suspended by the leg suffered hours of lingering agony provided the Sabbath was not broken¹ On this point Professor William C Smith, Assistant Professor of Sociology in the University of Southern California, speaks from personal knowledge, for he himself worked among the Aos as a member of the American Baptist Mission He says² "Familiarity with Missionary attitudes and practices, which are all too characteristic, makes inevitable the conclusion that there is entirely too much negation, too much taboo, and too little that is positive There is grave danger that Christianity, as presented to these people, comes to be little more than the adoption of another set of taboos, and taboo is no new element in the life of any group on a low cultural level Under the old system the Nagas had to refrain from working in the fields on certain days, lest their god Lizaba curse the village with an epidemic or blight the rice crop, now they must refrain from work on the Christian Sabbath, lest Jehovah, the God of Israel, smite them for their wickedness"

A point of small importance now, but which may have greater significance later, is the Ao love of hymn singing and the importance he attaches to it The services in the little village churches consist largely of hymns, and an Ao usually speaks of going to church as "going to sing" Hymn singing, as is well known, is a highly emotional form of worship, and has its dangers A movement has recently (in 1923) begun among the Christians of the Lushai Hills, the adherents of which sing hour after hour, often prolonging their meetings throughout the night, and work themselves up with the beat of tom toms into a high state of excitement³ It is spreading, and the Mission fear it

¹ Not for a moment do I suggest that any member of the Mission would approve of such Pharisaical cruelty Here and elsewhere it is the Ao interpretation of and reaction to their teaching that I am discussing —J P M

² *Missionary Activities and the Acculturation of Backward Peoples* by William C Smith *The Journal of Applied Sociology* March-April 1903 p 185 —J P M

³ Some of the 'propheysings' that I have taken place related not to the prophet but to his (or her) acquaintances whose sins the prophet confessed for the good of the sinner These confessions were sometimes so scandalous as to end in the courts and the meetings had in some places to be suppressed —J H H

may reach the Naga Hills. They are strongly opposed to this development and hold themselves in no way responsible for it.

One aspect of the Mission teaching curiously resembles the backwash of a wave. What the East gave to Europe and Europe took to America, the New World is now giving back to the Farther East. As Sir James Frazer points out,¹ the society of Greece and Rome was built on the conception of the subordination of the individual to the community. The safety of the commonwealth, as the supreme aim of conduct, was above the safety of the individual, whether in this world or the next. The spread of Oriental religions, and among them is Christianity, brought far different ideals. They inculcated the communion of the individual's soul with God and its eternal salvation as objects of far greater importance than the prosperity, or even the existence, of the State. The result was a general disintegration of the body politic. There are many signs of a similar decay of communal life among the Aos following on the teaching of Christianity. The non-Christian Ao is far from being unselfish (in savage life the devil takes the hindmost with unfailing regularity), but he thinks much of the welfare of his village. He hates to live away from it, he works for it, he helps to run it, he subscribes to its worship, he readily shares in presents which it gives to guests, he feasts it and in the old days he fought for it. Though the Christian still retains some of this love for his village and willingness to serve it, the feeling is undoubtedly less strong in him. Christians are often quite willing to live elsewhere than in their villages, and converts frequently refuse to take any part in its government. Attempts are often made to avoid little acts of social service on the most trivial excuses, for instance, there is an old custom by which in every "morung" there are kept torches which can be taken *gratis* by benighted travellers, I have more than once known Christian boys refuse to help in collecting the materials on the plea that the "morung" was a heathen building. Christians for long tried to avoid keeping any *amungs* at all, placing their

¹ *I* *vide Golden Bough* (abridged edition) p. 357—J. P. M.

individual convenience above the common sentiment of their neighbours. They also protested against subscribing to *aksu*, deeming a little more rice in their granaries as of more importance than the reputation of the village for hospitality. In Sangratsu they were quite ready to sacrifice the rights of their clan to certain ornaments to their own desire for beef.¹ I have heard of their refusing to help non-Christians with their fields. In villages where Christianity flourishes the old system of age groups, each with its allotted tasks, tends to decay, and it is noticeable that such villages never by any chance ring wild pigs or tigers, the reason being that they no longer have the necessary discipline and organization. When recruits were called for for the Naga Labour Corps in the Great War very few Ao Christians indeed were prepared to leave the comforts and security of their own homes and face the unknown, and their response was miserable compared with that of their unconverted brethren. In matters where their religion is concerned Christians will work well together,² but in secular matters they are inclined to rate the welfare of the individual far above that of the body politic, and if the process continues their villages will become mere collections of houses instead of highly organized social units in which every man shoulders his burden of service and responsibility.

Of the mistakes made by the Mission the gravest, in my opinion, and the one most fraught with danger for the future is their policy of strenuously imposing an alien Western culture on their converts. All sociologists are agreed on the grave danger entailed in forcing civilization on primitive people. Much has been written on the subject,³ and I will confine my remarks to a few words. I think I am right in saying that no member of the Mission has ever studied Ao customs deeply, but nearly all have been eager

¹ See p. 50 *supra* —J. P. M.

² Save when, as occasionally happens, a schism occurs in a village. Even then mutual opposition welds each of the disputing bodies into a close unit —J. P. M.

³ For special reference to the Nagas see Hutton. The Depopulation of Primitive Communities, in *Man in India* December 1922. Smith op cit. Balfour, The Welfare of Primitive Peoples, in *Folk Lore*, March 1923 —J. P. M.

to uproot what they neither understand nor sympathize with, and to substitute for it a superficial civilization. Mrs. Clark,¹ after a scanty and, as far as the men's essential garment is concerned, a misleading description of Ao dress, says: "Amid these exhibitions of taste so degrading and repulsive we observe with encouragement and delight the slightest evidence of some innate refinement . . . The Assamese costume of jacket and body cloth is now being adopted by many who have come under Christian influence, especially by pupils in the schools." At the first big rally of the Christians "more clothes" were advocated.² This policy has been continued to the present day.³ It is true that all except the more highly civilized Aos at the Mission

¹ Clark, *op cit*, p 54—J P M

² *Ibid*, p 144 See also pp 147, 148—J P M

³ Apropos of dress there is one aspect of the influence of the Mission upon Nagas which I think Mr Mills has omitted, and that is its effect upon art. All Naga tribes have a most remarkable appreciation of the effective and picturesque in dress, and their use of colour is usually in extraordinarily good taste and particularly well adapted to the surroundings in which it is displayed. The designs of their cloths are conspicuous for the right use of brilliant colours, while their ornaments of black and white hornbill feathers, cowries, ivory and scarlet hair seem peculiarly well fitted to the deep green or bluish background usually afforded by the well wooded hills which are their habitat. In addition to this, their use of carving in wood for the ornamentation of their "morungs," though in some respects crude, is at the same time bold and effective. All this—not to mention the art of dancing—is being destroyed by their conversion to Christianity. The traditional cloths may not be worn, as they are heathenish, and the picturesque and highly coloured ceremonies, which are such a feature of Naga village life and redeem it from what would otherwise be a monotonous and rather drab existence, must likewise be abolished. The effect of this must be inevitably to stifle the artistic sense in the interests of a gloomy and puritanical view of life which is being imposed upon them just as Europe is beginning to escape from its shackles. It is difficult to see why the native taste for colour and brilliant effects which the Naga possesses should not be turned to the glory of God instead of being regarded as an offence before Him. If the bright cloths, worn as a reward for the giving of feasts of merit by the Ancients, were retained by the Christians for their own acts of social service, if the insignia of renown in war were made badges of rank in the congregation, and deacons or pastors encouraged to wear hornbill feathers and cowrie aprons to denote their office, while those assembling for divine worship were encouraged to do honour to the occasion by dressing in their best, if they were encouraged to adorn their church buildings with carvings, as they have done their "morungs" and their drum logs in the past, it is hard for a layman to see how the Deity would be dishonoured thereby, while their unquestionable artistic sense would be encouraged and possibly imbued with fresh vigour, and the villages would not be deprived of the brilliant festivities which at present do so much, where Christianity has not yet destroyed them, to brighten the dull monotony of village life—J. H. H.

station now wear their hair cut in their national style, but it is exceptional to find there a Naga who is not in foreign dress. Luckily in the villages the innate conservatism of the Ao has so far more or less successfully withstood the influence of the Mission in the matter of dress, and the national costume is still almost universally worn. But the Ao teachers at Impur are almost all entirely denationalized, and their influence on the boys who pass through their hands at a most impressionable age cannot be without effect. Foreign clothes, the sign and emblem of the Mission policy, are dangerous from more than one point of view.¹ They undoubtedly spread disease. A Naga who wears them does not always change them when he should—probably he has no others to put on. A man will arrive at the top of a hill streaming with perspiration and then take his coat off to get cool. The wearing of foreign clothes has, in my opinion, contributed to the spread of pulmonary disease in the Naga Hills. Secondly, they are entirely unfitted to the Naga mode of life. The long skirts into which the Mission put their women are not suitable garments for weeding in rice drenched with rain. A “dhoti” or “shorts” are possibly worse. The close fitting bodices of Christian women and the shirts of the men are positively dangerous in a climate where workers are soaked daily with rain or perspiration. The third and most insidious danger is a psychological one. A Naga who puts on foreign clothes adopts with them a foreign outlook. His old environment is no longer good enough for him, and what appears particularly abhorrent to him is the prospect of a life long routine of going down a steep hill every morning, doing a day’s work in the fields, and coming up a steep hill every evening. The more “civilized” he is the less he likes work which entails manual labour. But “sitting and eating” jobs, as the Naga describes such posts as clerkships, are few and far between, and the more “civilized” Nagas there are turned out the fewer will be the growers of rice and

¹ Cf. Rivers *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia* pp. 747, 23, 31, 52, 75. This is a most valuable little book which I heartily commend to all, whether missionaries, officials, or traders who have dealings with primitive races.—J. P. M.

the more the parasitic caters thereof. Continue the process long enough and you arrive at racial extinction.

The objectless existence of the "civilized" Naga is an important point. Ideally he ought to be absorbed in a continual struggle to live a more Christian life, and this should suffice. But it is useless to deny that in human life all but a very few desire some additional material aim. He has none. He has raised his standard of comfort and has been anxious for his life, what he shall eat and what he shall drink, and for his body, what he shall put on. He has acquired new tastes, but not the wherewithal to gratify them. The result is discontent and lack of interest in life. The non-Christian can no longer take heads, but the ambition to perform the full series of feasts of merit and leave a name which shall be sung of at the dances of generations yet unborn is a ruling passion in his breast. The Christian has no such object, and it is a proved fact that loss of interest in life ¹ is the most potent factor in the decay and eventual extinction of primitive races.² "Sudden transformations usually mean the rapid death and disappearance of the people themselves as well as of their culture. Such has been the history wherever civilization has done its work rapidly. . . . We look at the tribes of Eskimo, extending from Greenland through the whole of North America westward to the shores of Siberia, and we find that, with scarcely an exception, where no outside influence has been felt they retain their pristine vigour; while wherever the white man has had much to do with them, whether trader

¹ A curious example of the way artificial interests and excitements are created is provided by the Ku Klux Klan in America. John Moffat Mecklin, in his *The Ku Klux Klan, A Study of the American Mind*, says that the Klan presents an "almost irresistible" appeal to the man of the small township who "is tyrannized over by the Puritanical precepts of an orthodox Protestantism which places a premium on the mental servility of 'simple' faith, taboos forms of worldly amusements without troubling to find a substitute, and dooms its devotees to a life spent in the midst of spiritual and moral illusions." He describes "the dreariness of small town life," and says that the Baptists "are apparently the religious mainstay of the Klan." One wonders if in years to come the Ao Baptists will invent something which will liven up their existence, just as the Ku Klux Klan has brought excitement of a not very healthy kind to many a small town in America.—J. P. M.

² Cf. Rivers, *op cit*, pp 91-97.—J. P. M.

or Missionary,¹ there they have deteriorated. The Missionary then may well be on his guard in introducing the goods of civilization, lest he introduce at the same time some phases which are not good for the savage, but so evil and destructive as to leave him not even his own life."² The untouched Ao has many virtues. The tree that bears such fruit cannot be wholly evil. Let the Missionary spare his axe till he has seen what of the tree is rotten and what sound. He will not hew it down then, I think, for he will find much good wood. Pruning he will do, but it will be with a kindly hand. Grafting will be possible, and he will, if he is wise, even put props under some of the old boughs, for, with this help, they will last for many a year and bring forth fruit all the sweeter for the care he has given them.

¹ Not infrequently the Missionary blames the trader for the harm that occurs. But it is to be remembered that it is often the Missionary, with his 'civilizing' aims, who creates a market for the trader.—J. P. M.

One Missionary of my acquaintance (he was not of the American Baptist Mission) actually justified to me the introduction of European clothes on the ground that it was "good for trade" and it is worth quoting a passage very pertinent to this subject from the *Polynesian Researches* (Vol. II ch. xvi) of that well-known Missionary, William Ellis. Speaking of the Missionaries' deliberate attempt to introduce European dress in the Pacific he says: "But this is not the only advantage resulting therefrom. It has opened a new channel for commercial enterprise, and has actually created a market for British Manufacture, the consumption of which among the Islands of the Pacific that have received the Gospel, is already considerable. Mr. Stewart estimates that the trade of four American Merchants in the Sandwich Islands amounts to one hundred thousand dollars a year. This is a consideration which ought not to be disregarded by those who take an interest in the alteration of Society which is now attending Missionary efforts in various parts of the World. Shoes and hats are not much less in demand than cottons or woollens, and these also must, for the present, and probably for many years to come, be supplied from England or America." Further on one reads with a melancholy irony the following sentence:—

"It may perhaps be supposed, by those who are unacquainted with the circumstances, that the wives of the Missionaries have not acted judiciously in introducing and cherishing a desire for dress."

The reverend gentleman was thinking here of the moral and not the physical effects of dress, but Dr. Rivers' *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia* alone is enough to show how peculiarly injudicious the action of the wives of the Missionaries was, and how very far they were from being acquainted themselves with the circumstances incumbent on their action. And yet in spite of the bitter object lesson in the South Seas, the wives of other Missionaries a century later are elsewhere still distributing presents of unbecoming garments to totally unfitted recipients. Just so one Deiranira I remember to have read of, gave, likewise with the best intention, a shirt to Herakles.—J. H. H.

² Smith, *op cit* p. 178 quoting from Wallis in *The American Journal of Theology*, XIX 263, 271.—J. I. M.

APPENDIX V

VILLAGE NAMES

The following list gives the names of Ao villages as they were spelt up to the survey of 1924, the names according to Ao pronunciation, and the traditional derivations where they are known. I have used the corrected spelling throughout, but the old spelling will still be the more familiar to many.

Conventional spelling	Ao name	Traditional derivation
Akhwa	Ākhoa	"Village of walnuts (<i>alho</i>)," from the many trees growing there when the village was founded
Aliba	Ālibā	"Quick." Mokongtsu sent out two bodies of colonists on the same day, one towards the site of Aliba and one towards the site of Mubongchokūt. The former party travelled so quickly that they were able to reach their objective and clear the jungle on it the day they left Mokongtsu, while the second party were delayed
Aonokpo	Nōkpōyimchēn	"The old (<i>chen</i>) village (<i>yim</i>) of the Nōkpo," a race apparently akin to Konyaks whom the immigrant Aos found in possession of certain sites ¹
Asangma	Āsāngmā	"The village of <i>asang</i> trees," from the number on the site
Cham	Chāmī	Called after the Cham clan
Changchang	Changchang	
Changk	Changk	
Chantongia	Chantōngia	"The village of <i>chantong</i> cane," from the amount of this cane found on the site
Cholim-en.	Chōnglīyimsēn	"The new (<i>sen</i>) Chongli village (<i>yim</i>)"
Chuchu	Chūchū Yimlang	"Lower Chuchu." The village is a colony from Sasa (Chuchu Yimlang). The name is derived from <i>chucha</i> , a species of thin bamboo with which the site of the parent village was covered when the founders came
Chuntia	Cl ūngtī	"Go quickly." Aliba sent out a colony to the site and told them to go with all speed

¹ See p. 9 *supra*—J. P. M.

Conventional spelling	Ao name	Traditional derivation
Dibua	Dibūa	"The village of <i>dibu</i> bamboos." <i>Dī</i> is the Mongsen word for the thin bamboo which the Chongli call <i>chue'u</i> .
Japiu	Chapru	"Rice (<i>cha</i>) going dry (<i>pu</i>)." The founders brought so much boiled rice with them to eat on the way that some of it was left over and went dry. Therefore the village has had ample food ever since.
Kalingmen	Kūlingmēn	Village of sword bean (<i>kūling</i>). The plant was particularly plentiful on the site.
Bura Kanching Kabza khari	Kongtsung Tolubo Kabza khari	Great Kongtsung. The Colony, i.e. from Kurotang Ashes, because it was founded where a huge tree had been burnt.
Khensa Kinoungre	Khēnsa Kinungr	House (<i>ki</i>) groaning (<i>nungr</i>). A pestilence attacked the village soon after it was founded, and the groaning of the sick was to be heard in every house.
Lakhuni	Lakhunī	"The village of plantains (<i>lakhū</i>), because many were found on the site."
Liramon	Lirūmēn	"The village of <i>liru</i> trees, because many were found on the site."
Longchang	Lōngchāng	"The village of buried (<i>chang</i>) rocks (<i>long</i>)."
Longmisa	Lōngmīsa	Platform (<i>sa</i>) of <i>longmī</i> bamboo. Such a platform was built at the original village, which stood where the Sema village of Lumitsami is now. The true name of the present site of Longmisa is Tsumarminden (Foreigners' settlement). Long ago a body of foreigners, said to have been born of gourd seeds, but coming from no one knew whence, wandered about looking for a site with good soil on which to settle. Their method was to test the soil by digging a trench and filling in the earth, and their ideal was a place where the earth left over would be enough to fill another equally big trench. The best they found was on the present site of Longmisa, where enough was left over to half fill another trench. So they settled there, but left long before the Aos arrived from the original Longmisa.
Longpa	Lōngphā	"Pock (<i>long</i>) teeth (<i>phā</i>)," from the jagged rocks on the site.
Longsa	Lōngsā	"Pock (<i>long</i>) platform (<i>sa</i>)," from a flat rock.
Longsamtang Lungkhung	Nanchām Lūngkhūng	

Conventional spelling.	Ao name	Traditional derivation
Merangkong	Mérangkōng	"Hill (<i>long</i>) of bravery (<i>merang</i>)" They once stoutly repulsed Kenyak raiders from Tanhai
Mobongchokut	Mūbōngchōkūt	"Wind (<i>mō bong</i>) swept (<i>chōkūt</i>)" The story goes that a gale of wind once carried the thatch of a Jungkam "morung" to Mābongchokūt
Mokokchung	Mōkōngtsū	"Way forcers" The founders from Ungma had to force their way past the Sangtama on their flank.
Molungimchen	Mōlungyin chēn	"Old (<i>chen</i>) village (<i>yim</i>) of the Molung," a rice which the migrating Aos drove before them ¹
Molungimsen	Mōlungimsēn.	"The new (<i>sen</i>) village (<i>yim</i>) of the Molung"
Mongchen	Mūngchēn	"Resting place" The romantic couple, Itiven and Chinasaangba, rested here on their wanderings ²
Mongmethang	Mangmēthāng	"The place where the corpse (<i>mung</i>) was leant up (<i>methang</i>)" Among the original founders from Sātāu was a man who brought the stiff, smoke-dried corpse of his wife with him that he might finally lay it out on a platform at his new home. Here he leant it upright against a bank while he rested, and here the new village was founded
Mongsenma	Mōngsēnyimā	"Big Mongsen village" The village is now Chongli, but the Mongsen first occupied the site
Mukuli	Mōkūli	"Twisting," referring to the path which runs round the spur on which it stands
Nankam	I ūngkām	The name of an Ao phratry, which can mean "sprung from a stone"
Salulamang	Salūlamūng	"The resting place (<i>mung</i>) of Salula," a mythical woman who was turned into stone with her lover at this village ³
Satselpa	Satsēlpā	"Meat (<i>sa</i>) smelling (<i>tsēlpā</i>)" from the smell of roasted pork which pervaded the village on a certain day not long after its original foundation. The present village is new
Sangtrachu	Sāngtrātāu	"Put down (<i>tsā</i>) on a root (<i>trachu</i>)" On the way from Mābongchokut one of the founders put down the sacrificial pig and fowl on the roots of a tree
Ao Shitzi Suru	Sātāu Chuchu Yimlan	"Upper Chuchu," the parent village of Lower Chuchu
Ungma	Ūngmā.	"The Ung is not (<i>ma</i>)," for a tiger carried him off
Ungt	Ūngt	

¹ See p. 110 *supra* — J. P. M.² See p. 316 *supra* — J. P. M.³ See p. 319 *supra* — J. P. M.

Conventional spelling	Ao name	Traditional derivation
Wamaken	Wamükan	"Going to the side," because the village is not on one of the main ranges
Waromung	Warörmung	'Crows (<i>waro</i>) resting place (<i>mung</i>)' When the site was still jungle a hunter found here the crows gathered over the corpse of a wild boar he had wounded and tracked
Yachang	Yachang	Called after Yachangt i, a great man of the original village The present village is a recent foundation on the old site
Yimchehkimung	Yimchënkimung	Old (<i>chen</i>) village (<i>yim</i>) house site (<i>kimung</i>)' The present village is a second foundation on an abandoned site
Longimsen	lōngyimsën	New Long village' The Long were people of Konyak stock, whom the Aos drove before them along the Langbanglong

APPENDIX VI

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE NAGA HILLS, WITH SOME ADJACENT DISTRICTS

By J H HUTTON

It is not claimed that the following list is absolutely complete, but it is believed that as far as the Naga Hills themselves are concerned the omissions are comparatively few. Works dealing with Manipur, the Lushai and the North Cachar Hills have been included since it is very difficult to separate the literature which deals with them from that which bears only on the Naga Hills, for a Naga or a Kuki population is common to all. Works, however, which deal with districts other than the Naga Hills have been included as they occurred during the compilation of the Naga Hills list, and it is not suggested at all that the list is exhaustive for these districts.

The publications included in this list are such as either treat directly of the Naga Hills, etc., or record data based on first hand knowledge. Thus Miss Godden's articles in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* have been included as treating directly of the Naga Hills, though the information given is none of it first hand. On the other hand, such a work as M'Cosh's *Topography of Assam* is included, because, though containing very little about the Nagas, what there is is of comparatively early date and represents the information available from official sources at the time that it was written. General works which contain references merely to the Naga Hills incidental to some other theme and without first hand knowledge, e.g. *Hobson-Jobson*, which contains a note s.v. "Naga," *The Golden Bough*, or Perry's *Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, have been omitted. At the same time, I have included

Reclus' *Nouvelle Geographie Universelle*, as his account of Nagas is from a source which I have not been able to identify and which has perhaps not itself been included in my list I ought perhaps, to have included on similar grounds Sir James Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy*, II (p 326) 1910 and *Folk lore in the Old Testament*, III (p 409, n 3), 1919 as the passage referred to in each of these contains an item of relative information elsewhere unpublished

Professor Wm C Smith of Los Angeles, to whom I am indebted for the inclusion of a number of references to missionary publications otherwise unknown to me tells me that the Reports of the Assam Mission Conferences in particular that of 1912 and likewise the Reports of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (Boston), also contain a certain amount of scattered material

I have also found references to the following nine publications, which have not been included in the main list for want of the year of publication or other more exact data —

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Except the fifth and last three, they must have been published before 1900

An asterisk * and a dagger † mark publications having illustrations or maps respectively relative to the Naga Hills It is likely that some of those unmarked are also so illustrated as I have had no access to a considerable number of the authorities quoted *J A S B* = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* *J R A S* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic*

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Naga and other foreign words are printed in *italics*. Words of Chongli and Mongsen dialects are succeeded by C or M respectively. Naga words are indexed under their English equivalents, except in a few cases, in which the latter are very lengthy.

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